



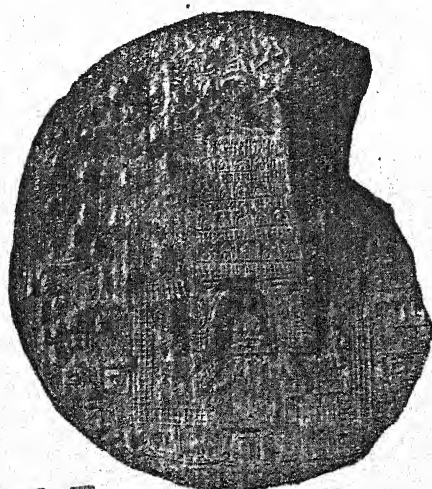
THE JOURNAL
OF THE
BIHAR AND ORISSA
RESEARCH SOCIETY.

25591



VOL. IX

1923.



891.05
J.B.R.S.

A349

PATNA

Published by the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.

Printed by the Superintendent, Government Printing, Bihar and Orissa.

Price

Rs. 20.

(107)

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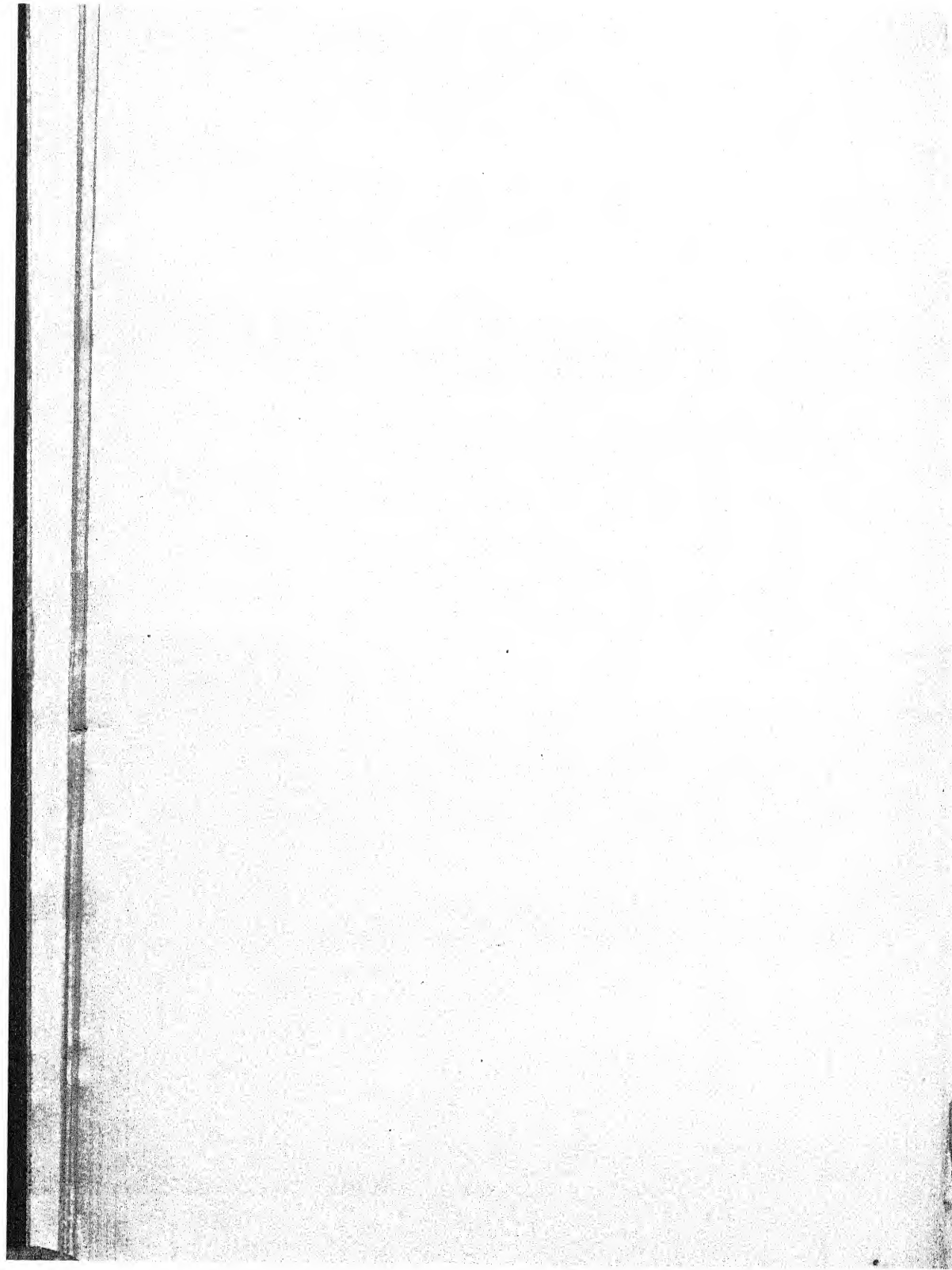
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[PART I.

LEADING ARTICLES.

Nalanda Excavations.*

By J. A. Page, Esq., A.R.I.B.A., Superintendent,
Archæological Survey, Central Circle.

I must preface my remarks with an apology for the inadequate means at my disposal of conveying any intelligible description of the buildings themselves to you. For this purpose lantern-slide illustrations thrown on a screen are indispensable, and these I have not had the leisure or the facilities to prepare.

I hope, however, to refrain from any long wearisome descriptions, and will trust to make my remarks intelligible by circulating among you afterwards a number of photographs of the principal features of the Nalanda excavations and the finds made there.

The celebrated Buddhist Monastery of Nalanda probably came into existence at some time between the fifth and seventh centuries A.D.

The Chinese pilgrim Fa Hian ¹, who visited all the Buddhist centres of India between the years 405-11 A.D., is

* A lecture delivered at the Annual Meeting of the Society, 1923.

¹ *Travels of Fa Hian*; Legge: Oxford Press (1886).

silent concerning the existence of a monastery at Nalanda ; whereas his successor Yuan Chwang ¹, who toured India between the years 630-645 A.D. in the reign of Harsha, describes its buildings at some length ; the inference being that the site was populated and the monasteries founded at some time between the visits of the two pilgrims. The present name of the locality is Burgaon.

"Burgaon," writes Mr. Broadley, who excavated here in the seventies, "has been identified, beyond the possibility of a doubt, with that *Viharagrama* on the outskirts of which, more than 1,000 years ago, flourished the great Nalanda Monastery, the most magnificent and most celebrated seat of Buddhist learning in the world. When the caves and temples of Rajagriha were abandoned to the ravages of decay, and the followers of Tathagata forsook the dwellings of their great teachers, the monastery of Nalanda arose in all its splendour on the banks of the lakes of Burgaon. Successive monarchs vied in its embellishment ; lofty pagodas were raised in all directions ; halls of disputation and schools of instruction were built between them ; shrines, temples and topes were constructed on the side of every tank and encircled the base of every tower ; and around the whole mass of edifices were grouped 'the four-storied' dwellings of the preachers and teachers of Buddhism."

Yuan Chwang records the tradition that 500 merchants purchased the site of Nalanda for ten kotis of gold pieces, and presented it to Buddha, who preached the law here for three months ; with the result that most of the merchants attained the fruit of Arhatship. The pilgrim, who was admitted to Baladitya's college as a student by the abbot Silabhadra, thus describes the various buildings at Nalanda :—

"After the *Nirvana* of Buddha, an old king of this country called Sakraditya, from a principle of loving obedience to Buddha, built this convent.

¹ *Life of Hsuen-Tsiang*: Beal: Trubner (1911), and *Watters On Yuan Chwang*: R. A. S. (1905).

"After his decease, his son Buddhagupta-*raja* seized the throne, and continued the vast undertaking; he built, towards the south, another *Sangharama*.

"Then his son (successor) Tathagata-*raja* built a *Sangharama* to the eastward.

"Next, his son (or, *direct descendant*) Baladitya built a *Sangharama* to the north-east. Afterwards the king, seeing some priests who came from the country of China to receive his religious offerings, was filled with gladness, and he gave up his royal estate and became a recluse.

"His son Vajra succeeded, and built another *Sangharama* to the north.

"After him a king of Mid-India built by the side of this another *Sangharama*.

"Thus six kings in connected succession added to these structures.

"Moreover, the whole establishment is surrounded by a brick wall, which enclosed the entire convent from without. One gate opens into the great college, from which are separated eight other halls, standing in the middle (*of the Sangharama*). The richly adorned towers, and the fairy-like turrets, like pointed hill-tops, are congregated together. The observatories seem to be lost in the vapours (*of the morning*) and the upper rooms tower above the clouds.

"From the windows one may see how the winds and the clouds (*produce new forms*), and above the soaring eaves the conjunctions of the sun and moon (*may be observed*).

"And then we may add how the deep, translucent ponds bear on their surface the blue lotus, intermingled with the Kie-ni¹ (*Kanaka*) flower, of deep red colour, and at intervals the Amra groves spread over all their shade.

"All the outside courts, in which are the priests' chambers, are of four stages. The stages have dragon-projections and coloured eaves, the pearl-red pillars, carved and ornamented,

¹*Butea frondosa*.

the richly adorned balustrades, and the roofs covered with tiles that reflect the light in a thousand shades, these things add to the beauty of the scene.

"The *Sangharamas* of India are counted by myriads, but this is the most remarkable for grandeur and height. The priests belonging to the convent, or strangers (*residing therein*) always reach to the number of 10,000, who all study the Great Vehicle as well as the works of the eighteen sects of Buddhism; and even ordinary works, such as the *Vedas* and other books, and the works on Magic (*Atharva-veda*); besides these they thoroughly investigate the "miscellaneous" works. There are 1,000 men who can explain twenty collections of *sutras*, and perhaps ten men, including the Master of the Law, who can explain fifty collections. Silabhadra alone has studied and understood the whole number. His eminent virtue and advanced age have caused him to be regarded as the chief member of the community. Within the temple they arrange every day about 100 pulpits for preaching, and the students attend these discourses without fail, even for a minute (*an inch shadow on the dial*).

"The priests dwelling here, are, as a body, naturally (or spontaneously) dignified and grave, so that during the 700 years since the foundation of the establishment, there has been no single case of guilty rebellion against the rules.

"The king of the country respects and honours the priests and has remitted the revenue of about 100 villages for the endowment of the convent. Two hundred householders in these villages day by day contribute several hundred piculs¹ of ordinary rice, and several hundred catties² in weight of butter and milk. Hence the students here, being so abundantly supplied, do not require to ask for the four requisites.³ This is the source of the perfection of their studies, to which they have arrived."

The monastery sheltered several thousand priests of the highest ability and talents, whose fame spread over wide regions. Their conduct is stated to have been exemplary, and

¹Picul = 133 lbs. ²Catty = 150 lbs. ³Food, clothes, bedding and medicine.

they followed with all sincerity the teachings of the moral law. The monastic regulations at Nalanda were of a rigid character and strict obedience to them was demanded. Discussion on the most abstruse problems proceeded from morn till night, to the mutual enlightenment of young and old. Those whose knowledge was confined to the *Tripitakas* alone, we are informed, had to hide themselves for shame. Students from different parts of India flocked to the monastery to participate in the discussions; but before they could obtain admission they were required to give satisfactory answers to difficult questions put to them by the keepers of the gates. Seven or eight of every ten being unable to answer had to retire; while the others who succeeded were certain to be humbled as soon as they took part in the debate, and lose their renown. But the learned among them who secured admission had their doubts settled, and thus the stream of knowledge continued to flow out over the length and breadth of the country. Men of conspicuous talents, of solid learning, great ability, illustrious virtues, who had distinguished themselves above the ordinary had their names inscribed on the list of college celebrities; which included Dharmapala and Chandrapala, who gave a fragrance to Buddha's teachings; Gunamati and Sthiramati of excellent reputation; Prabhamitra of clear discourse; Jinamitra of exalted eloquence, etc. Such were the luminaries in the Buddhist intellectual firmament to whom are ascribed numerous treatises and commentaries, and whose doctrines were widely diffused and have survived to modern times.

In connexion with the ceremonial of worshipping the images, it is recorded that large offerings were made to the figure of Tara-Bodhisattva on every fast day of the year; and Yuan Chwang tells us that "the kings and ministers and the great people of the neighbouring countries offered exquisite perfumes and flowers, and carried gem-covered flags and canopies, whilst instruments of metal and stone resound in turns, mingled with the harmony of flutes and harps. These religious assemblies last for seven days."

The remains of Nalanda include a range of numerous massive brick ruins, running north and south, of the great stupas attached to the monastery, the original courtyards of which may possibly be traced in the square patches of cultivation set in a debris-strewn area of some 1,600 by 400 feet. These open spaces conceivably mark the positions of the courtyards of the six monasteries which Yuan Chwang describes.

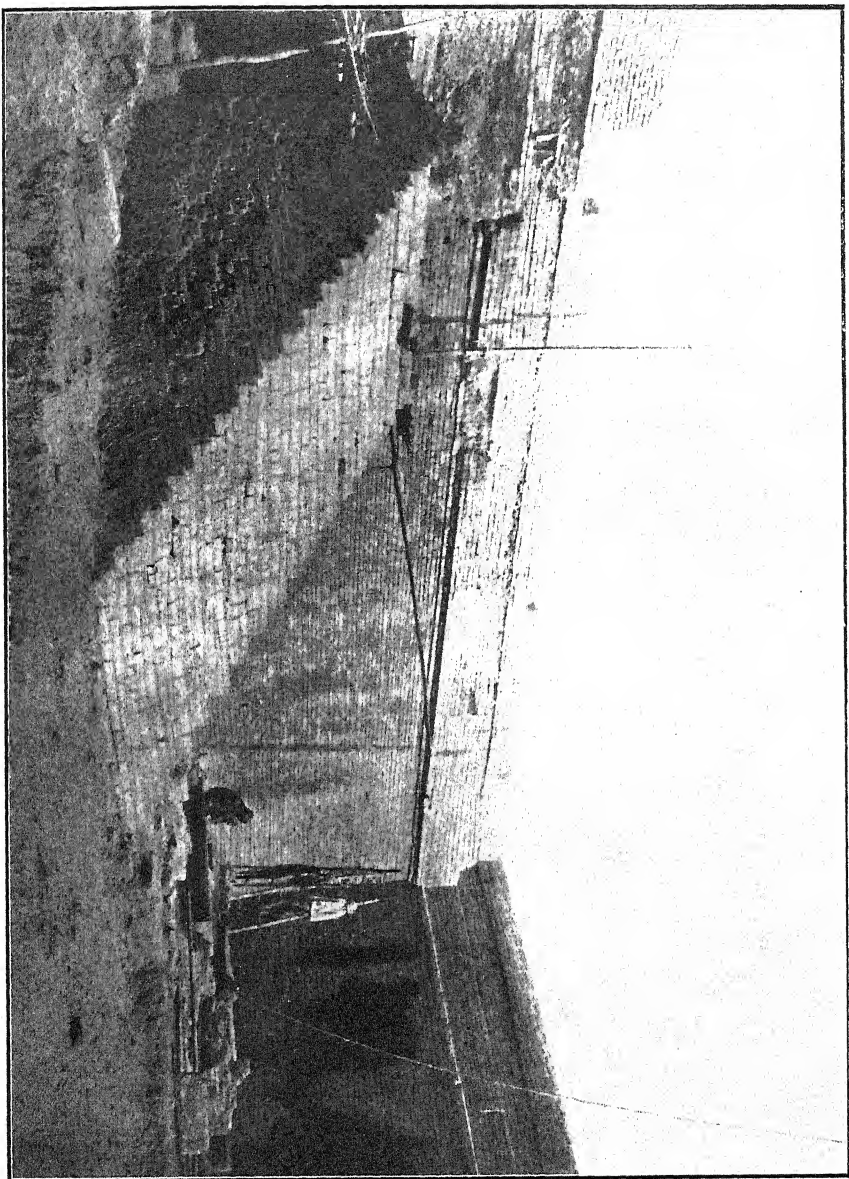
To the south of the monastery, according to Yuan Chwang, there was a pool in which it is said the dragon, or *Naga-Nalanda* used to dwell, after whom the place has been named. Cunningham¹ identified this pool with the present small tank to the south called Kargidya Pokhar, which corresponds in position to the pool of the *Naga*.

Lying east of the stupa mounds, and running parallel to them north and south at a distance of about 300 feet, is a maze of quadrangles or *viharas*. Detached mounds farther afield to the east, west and north mark the sites of other temples, while individual sculptures scattered all over the site point to the days of Nalanda's greatness. General Cunningham was of opinion that he met with the finest sculptures in India at this site; and it is probable that a considerable portion of the finest sculptures now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, came from here.

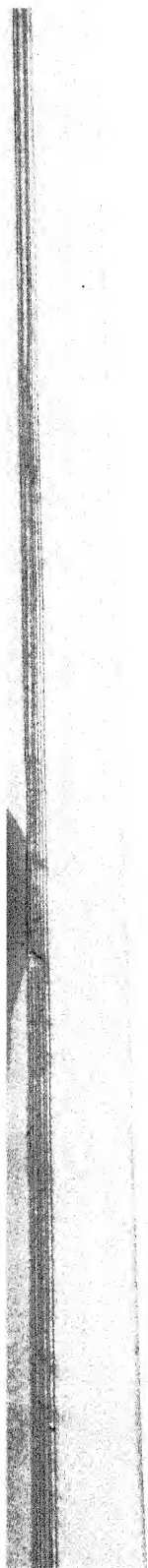
Before entering on to a brief account of the progress of the excavations carried out on the site, it will perhaps be best briefly to describe the different principal types of structure to be found there.

The viharas or monastic establishments at Nalanda all conform to a common type, so far as they have been exposed. They form a rectangle in plan bounded by an outer range of cells or cubicles with an open verandah running round their inner face and enclosing a large quadrangular court, which usually contains a well, among other features. Sometimes the verandah is a colonnaded structure, and, in other instances, partakes of the form of a terrace open to

¹ *Archaeological Survey Reports*, Vol. I.—Burgon.



Nalanda: Monastery No. 1: N. W. corner of courtyard, as excavated, during conservation and reconstruction of original steps.



the sky. The exterior walls were apparently quite plain with the exception of a simple plinth-moulding or string-course dividing the façade, and may or may not have contained windows ; for we have found no wall preserved to a sufficient height to settle this point. The probabilities are, however, that no opening was provided in the outer walls, with a view to ensuring greater seclusion for the inmates, and that lighting was obtained through the door opening on to the inner verandah.

In the cells themselves, in the thickness of their walls, were provided concrete recesses which served as couches. Occasionally little corbelled niches appear in these walls, which were perhaps used as receptacles for little images of Buddhist objects of worship.

On one side of the quadrangle would be the entrance, usually in a projecting bay or porch ; and directly opposite would be located the shrine containing the principal image of the Buddha.

The stupas, erected perhaps over a casket of relics associated with the person of Gautama or one of his

Stupas.

disciples, or perhaps merely to mark some spot hallowed by Buddhist tradition, would take the form of solid dome-like structures enclosed possibly by a railing or boundary wall and surmounted by a representation of an umbrella or series of umbrellas. Around a large main stupa of this kind are often grouped small stupas — votive emblems contributed by pious devotees as a work of religious merit.

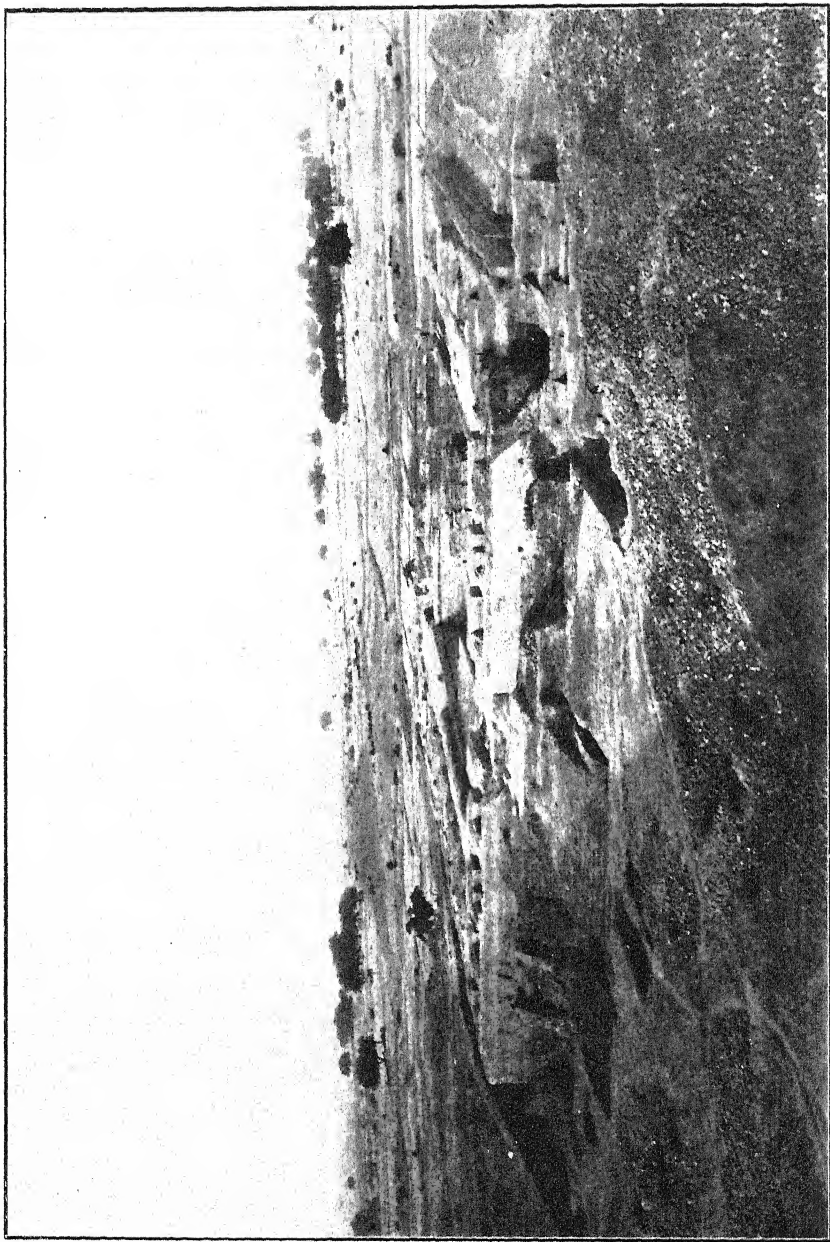
These then are the two principal kinds of structure which we may expect to find in a Buddhist monastic foundation.

Let us now proceed to an account of the excavations themselves.

In March 1916, Dr. Spooner commenced the excavation of the area by digging a trench along a line running north-west and south-east from the site No. 2 of General Cunningham, called by him the monastery of Buddhagupta. In the course of operations patches of the pavement of this monastery, together

with its north wall and a cross wall of one of the cells of the adjoining monastery to the south, ascribed by Cunningham to Sakraditya, were also discovered a few feet below the surface. The north-western corner of the latter monastery was also cleared, disclosing what appeared at first to be a two-storied structure, though the upper storey has subsequently proved to be a later erection covering an earlier building. Some sculptured fragments were discovered in the few cells so far cleared, as well as a small "blackish stone" plaque in which the Buddha and his attendants were delicately cut. Save for its broken upper portion the plaque was in excellent preservation. These excavations were later on closed in, and the exploration of the monastery temporarily abandoned.

The north wall of the southern monastery on being disclosed measured 205 feet and the side walls 168 feet. The wall is 6' 6" thick, which is increased by a foot on the west side. The inner court is rectangular; and its walls are built of superior bricks of a reddish tint and admirable texture, rubbed so smooth that the brick joints are scarcely noticeable. The patches of plaster left here and there *in situ* indicate that the walls were covered with this material and then, perhaps, decorated in some manner. The entrance to the monastery is in the centre of the west wall, where a grand staircase, 32 feet wide, is met with, projecting some 38 feet. The total height of the west wall externally is about 25 feet. Along the interior wall, on all the four sides, are rows of chambers, which vary slightly in size but average some 10 feet square. These latter are each provided with two bed-recesses measuring 6' 9" in length, while two square niches appear in the chambers at the north-west and south-east corners. In front of the chambers there is a continuous walk or terrace 10' 6" wide, which on the court side has been enclosed by a low parapet wall. In the partial clearance then effected, an ornamental moulding along the courtyard walls and a few fragmentary sculptures of a comparatively late



Nalanda: General view of Monastery (Site No. 1) from west.

date and of lesser interest were discovered. These included a small standing image of Buddha and four seated ones.

As anticipated by Dr. Spooner in the first season of his operations, through certain significant features even then apparent, there are several strata discernible indicative of successive desertions and re-occupations of the site. The second level is represented by a concrete pavement which lies immediately below the first, and is to be found in all the chambers on cutting through their floors to a depth of 2 feet. Similarly, the third level, which is 3' 9" below the first, is represented by a further pavement of lime concrete. A stone drain in the north wall of the courtyard 6' 9" below the first floor level would appear from its position to be contemporary with the third pavement level, and to have originally discharged its contents into the courtyard of the monastery.

Among the most important of the strata¹ are the fourth and fifth levels, and to facilitate and add to the clearness of their description, it is best to begin in the reverse order. Originally the courtyard was surrounded by an open colonnaded verandah on the four sides; a feature which on the topmost level has been covered over and paved with lime concrete to serve as an open walk in front of the chambers. The entrance to the monastery lay in the west side through a grand portico some 50' x 24' resting on pillars, the bases of which are still left *in situ*. It seems as though this feature was subsequently converted into a porch with an ante-chamber by the addition of walls projecting from the sides, which narrowed down the door to 6 feet. Flanking this door were found traces of stucco figures, and similar figures were also found in the large niches in the north and south walls of the portico. The brick walls here as well as the ground — where charcoal is lying even now — bear unmistakable traces of burning. From this portico one would enter the monastery, the chambers of the monks lying on all sides with open cloisters in front. These have been opened up to the bottom on the south and east sides of the building, the superstructure in the remaining portion having been allowed to

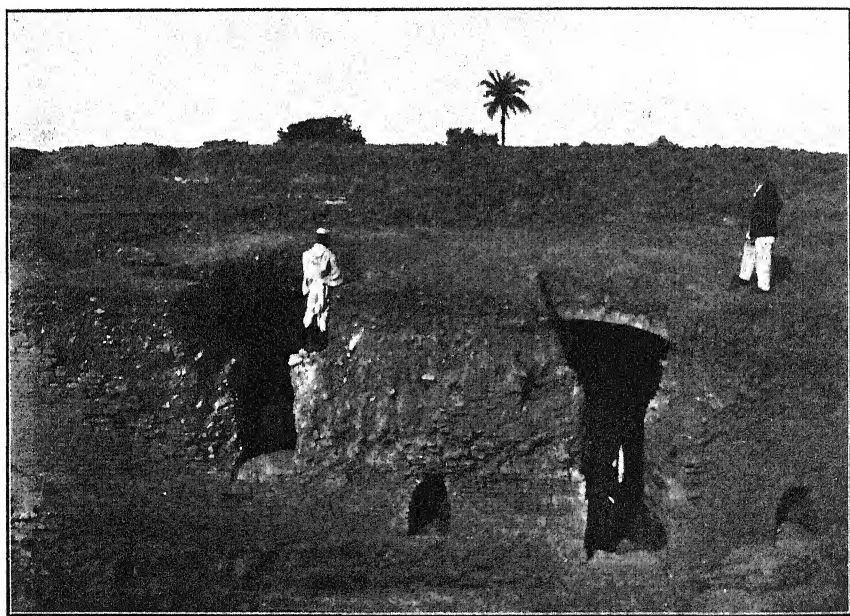
stand. In the north-west corner of the courtyard is a well, 7 feet in diameter, for the use of the monks, which is finished off with a circular parapet at the top. This parapet would appear to be a later addition ; for, about 3' 6" below, the well is square externally where it pierces an original brick paving. Connected with this original brick floor in the south-west corner is a sort of platform, which in some ways recalls similar features existing at Taxila. Along the cloistered walls were originally placed stone figures on pedestals, which Dr. Spooner thinks were removed when the monastery was deserted. In the centre of the east side, and projecting from the back wall, was the chapel enshrining a colossal stucco figure of the seated Buddha, of which merely indications of the legs remain. Immediately in front of the sanctum, and at a slightly lower level, is a raised platform which, from the stone bases of the columns still *in situ*, appears originally to have been an open-pillared portico. It is worthy of note that the large gateway of the sanctum seems at some later period to have been blocked in the middle by a masonry pier, on either side of which was left a small door. This is apparent through the straight line of the jambs of the wide original gateway being still visible in the brick wall face.

In the entrance to this monastery Pandit Hirananda Sastri discovered a very important copper-plate inscription of Sri Devapaladeva, the third sovereign of the Pala Dynasty.

The plate is surmounted by a seal bearing the Dharma-chakra emblem flanked by two gazelles, and the inscription it contains, which is in Sanskrit written in Devanagari character, records the grant of five villages in the Gaya and Rajagriha districts of the Srinagarbhukti (i.e. Patna Division) for the upkeep of the Nalanda monastery and the provision of comforts for the monks and bhiksus arriving there from all quarters. The inscription further records that Devapaladeva made this endowment at the request of the king of Sumatra, Sri Balaputra Deva—it would seem in return for an equivalent grant in that country. The inscription is dated in the 38th regnal year of Devapaladeva, corresponding to 891 A.D.



Nalanda: Metal image of standing Buddha in Abhaya (protection) Mudra.



Monastery Site No. 1. View of the two brick-built caves with arched ceilings, in courtyard.

Several other finds of interest were made in this colonnaded verandah.

To pass on to the fourth level, this would appear to result from the reoccupation of the site after its earlier abandonment by the monks ; the ground level in the interval having risen somewhat as a result of silt deposit and natural earth accumulation. The verandahs, in which the stone figures were erected to inspire the monks with nobler aims, were apparently no longer desired, and therefore filled in. Evidence of this is to be found in the fineness of the outer face of the brick walls exposed to the courtyard, the corresponding inner face having been left rough and uneven. It was at this time that the necessity arose for the two main flights of steps, the one leading from the entrance up to the top storey of the monastery, and the other down therefrom into its courtyard ; for the monks, it seems, still utilized the well in the courtyard which was now finished off with the higher circular parapet at its top. It may be observed that the level of the well, as added to, was slightly higher than the foot of the steps leading down to the courtyard. Another addition of considerable interest was made at this time in about the centre of the north wall of the court, where two structural "caves" of brick with corbelled entrances, 3' 10" wide, curiously resembling the rock-cut caves at Barabar, were erected. These have vaulted roofs ; the side walls rising vertically 3' 9", beyond which the vault is carried up another 5' 9". The chambers are identical and measure 15' 6" by 11' 8" internally, the thickness of the entrance wall being 4 feet. "As these caves (at Barabar) are cut with curving ceilings, their imitation here has necessitated the covering of the chambers with a vaulted roof, which constitutes not actually the first but is among the first examples prior to Muhammadan influence. No exact date can yet be assigned to this building, but that it is pre-Muhammadan seems certain, and this invests the arch with real importance. The bricks seem to have been specially made for the purpose. They are not very large ancient bricks and not squared in the usual way, but laid as stretchers

with the sides a little slanted.”¹ The verandah in front yielded several sculptured fragments of some interest, which include one remarkable plaque representing the principal events in the life of Buddha, though the Mahaparinirvana scene at the top is broken and missing. The plaque appears to have been lodged originally in the niche between the doors of the two caves. It was found in fragments, and these have been carefully reset together.

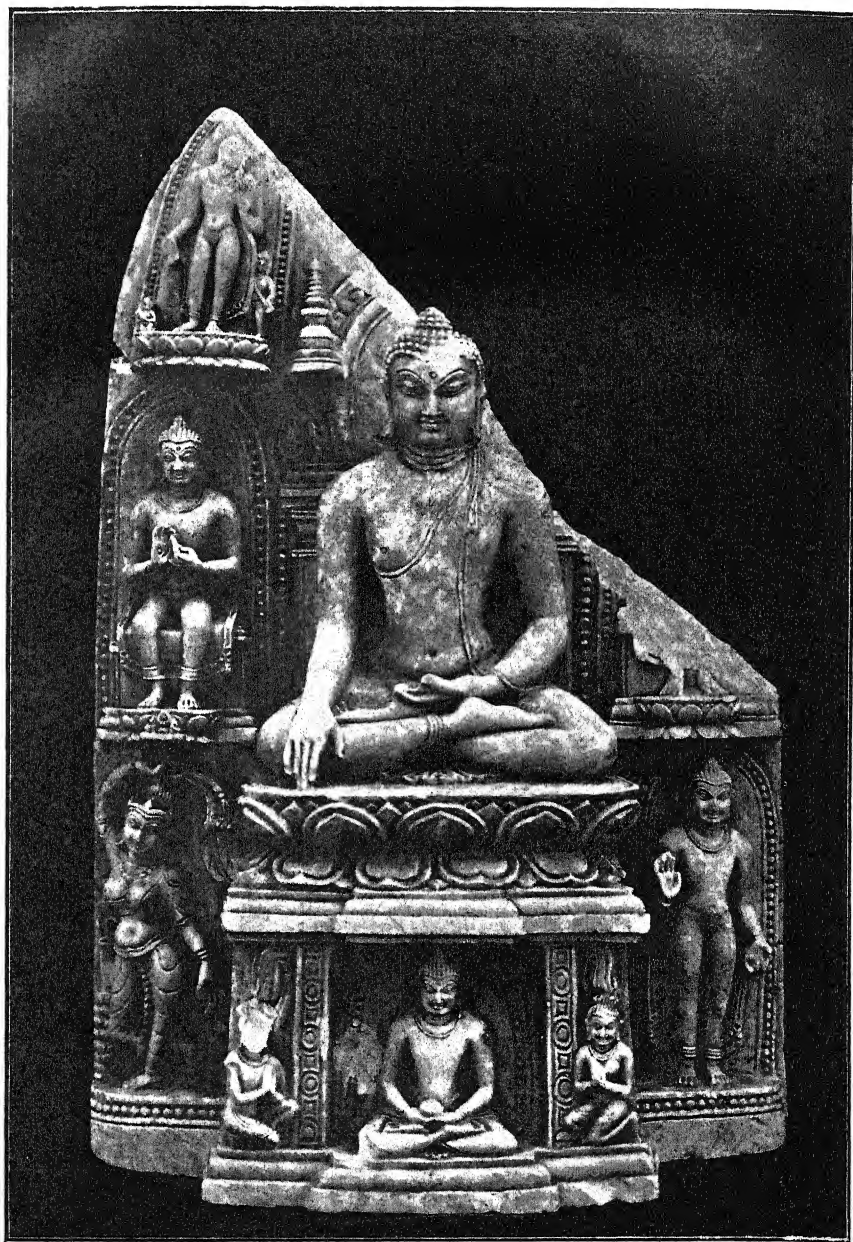
Lastly, there remains to be noticed the sixth level of occupation which, however, may or may not be the earliest on this site. Beneath the floor at the south-east corner of the verandah of the monastery at a depth of about 6 feet below the level of the cloistered walk, and again in one of the rooms on the south side, still another pavement of lime-concrete was discovered, as well as a couple of brick walls in the same corner.

Further excavation carried out in 1921-22 disclosed the existence of a brick paving in the southern half of the monastery, which feature probably extends over the whole courtyard. This paving was found at a level of some 22 feet below the extreme top parapet of the monastery court and 3' 6" below the courtyard level of the fifth successive stratum referred to previously. A feature of interest uncovered at the sixth level in the centre of the south wall was the remains of what appeared to be a low chabutra, inset in which were duplicate panels in low relief of bird-bodied men worshipping a lotus plant. From the style of this decorative relief Sir John Marshall considers it to date probably from the seventh century or “possibly the sixth”.

The level of the last stratum in relation to the fifth (assigned on the evidence afforded by the copper-plate of Devapaladeva found here to approximately the ninth century A.D.) would seem to indicate independently a date of about the sixth or seventh century for the sixth stratum, thus confirming that suggested by the style of the decorative panel in question.

Two further subsidiary levels in the succession of monastic structures erected on this same site are discernible in the small

¹ *Annual Progress Report* : Archaeological Survey, Central Circle, 1916-7.



Nalanda; Stone tablet illustrating scenes in the life of Buddha.



square *chaitya* in the centre of the court, these occurring between the third and fourth levels apparent in the courtyard walls ; while evidence of a later brick-facing added to the previous structure is also to be seen in the exterior walls of the monastery.

Thus no fewer than eight different levels and distinct periods occur at the single monastery site No. I ; and it will be the aim in conserving these fragmentary remains to preserve a definite portion of each stratum. The circumstance that each succeeding monastery adheres to an identical plan necessarily restricts the area of each stratum that can be maintained as such, and at once adds many difficulties in the carrying out of requisite measures of repair. However, by dealing with the different periods systematically it is hoped to make them intelligible to the interested visitor, and to preserve intact the internal evidence they each contribute to the history of the Nalanda site.

With this consideration in view, it is proposed to preserve as far as possible the stratigraphic evidence afforded by the earth through which the excavations have been sunk ; and to this end a substantial mound of earth left undisturbed in the south-west corner of the courtyard of Monastery No. I has been cut back cleanly to a slight batter and rendered watertight on top.

The stratigraphic evidence contained in this feature is of unusual interest, as it discloses with extraordinary clearness the vicissitudes through which the various successive structures have passed from the period of the original foundation of the monastery. Layers of ashes, potsherds, heavy brick debris, more ashes, and, finally, natural earth accumulation are most clearly defined, and serve at once as an indisputable record of fire and destruction, and of the abandonment and subsequent reoccupation of the site.

The multiplicity of levels and strata revealed in the shattered remains of this monastery No. I are not a little confusing, and necessitate very careful observation and study to separate them into contemporary periods. In the absence of adequate survey drawings co-relating the remains in plan, elevation and section,

little can be done in this direction ; but it is hoped to obtain a necessary dumpy-level and to train the office draughtsmen in its use, with a view to the preparation of such architectural drawings in the near future.

The value of such systematic survey in bringing to light items of evidence hidden from the most careful visual examination of the old remains in an ordinary way cannot be over-estimated, as; has been manifest in similar survey work undertaken among the Muhammadan monuments at Delhi ; and the internal evidence already disclosed at the Nalanda site encourages the hope that it will be eventually possible to reconstruct on paper, with some assurance as to its probable authenticity, a restoration illustrating the sequence of monastic structures built on this site between the sixth and twelfth centuries.

Overlapped at its north-east corner by monastery No. I, which it adjoins, is the monastery designated IA. It is entered on the north through a pillared portico, of which only the bases of the columns now remain, and a vestibule. The plan of the monastery is a rectangle containing the usual monks' chambers on each side, with the addition of what might possibly have been a shrine in the centre of the south side, though nothing specially indicative of its purpose was found there. An open pillared verandah ran originally around the quadrangle, which is paved with bricks set out in a number of rectangular panels. In the centre are two parallel rows of hearths, seven in number, connected by a common duct of corbel construction about 2 feet high. This feature occurs again in the eastern verandah. Its purpose seems, at present, to defy explanation, but Pandit Hirananda Sastri, who excavated it, thinks it might have been used for preparing rasas, or drugs, in which case the building would have been a medical seminary or Bhishak-sala. In the north-east corner of the court is an octagonal well, which on clearance yielded a number of earthen vases. The present water level is about 15 feet below the court. It is remarkable that heaps of decayed rice and oats were found in

two chambers on the east, suggestive of their possible use as storerooms. Again, in other rooms on the north, several copper and stone images of Tara, Avalokitesvara, Maitreya, and Buddha were discovered, perhaps an indication of the saints favoured by the individual monks residing here. A flight of steps rises between two of the rooms on the north, probably to afford access to the verandah roof. An important item of evidence for the chronology of this monastery is furnished by the circumstance of its walls, and those of the structure to the west of it, intersecting at two points. From this fact and from the existence of the drain passing through its south-west corner and entering the stupa court of site No 3, it is apparent that the monastery had fallen to ruins and was deserted before the stupa came into existence.

The conservation work necessitated on the structure included the repair of a low concrete parapet around the inner edge of the verandah enclosing the courtyard. This feature was reconstructed between the rough base stones still *in situ* which formerly supported the pillars of an open colonnade. By carefully recording in plan the precise position of such few of these rough stone bases as still remain, it has been possible to work out the intervals originally separating the columns, thus enabling the positions of the missing pillars to be indicated on the site.

Conservation work has up to the present been impeded by the necessity of utilizing such of the larger fragments of the old bricks as could be recovered from the excavated debris, which have necessarily to be dressed to an even face to conform with the old work *in situ*. This operation of cutting and dressing old bricks has been a very slow process, owing to the scarcity of suitable labour in the locality.

It is, however, hoped to experiment in the manufacture and burning of new bricks locally, with a view to obtaining the large sizes, averaging 15" by 9" by 3", used by the Gupta builders, and so necessary for the appropriate repair of the old walls.

Immediately east of the monastery quadrangle ascribed to Baladitya by Cunningham, the four sides of a ruined stone temple, square in plan, were uncovered during the excavation in 1916. The entrance to the temple was up a low flight of steps on the east. The centre of each facade is relieved by a slight projection; but the feature of special interest here is a dado of 211 sculptured panels over the exterior base moulding. These panels are symmetrically disposed around the facades, 20 appearing on each side of the main entrance and 19 in each of the three divisions of the remaining walls. The pilasters which separate the panels are decorated with the familiar pot-and-foilage design; and are surmounted by arches carved in trefoil shape, certain of them being of pointed form. Some of the panels have weathered away, while others seem to have been left unfinished. This dado of panels is surmounted by a double cornice, the lower moulding being relieved at intervals with replicas of the arched fronts of chaityas alternated by well-carved geese; and the upper, of which the greater part is missing, being decorated with larger replicas of the same chaitya motif; birds of various kinds posed in divers ways appearing in the intervals between them. In a few places there are signs of a third cornice of greater prominence, in one case portraying a human head within an arch. This third cornice was, however, either never finished or subsequently ruined before the present brick walling here was erected. There is a pleasing variety of sculpture figured in the panels of the dado: human couples in amorous postures; representations of Makaras; scroll foliage and geometrical patterns; again, elaborately dressed women seated in pairs; Kinnaras playing on musical instruments; a snakecharmer, etc. The sculptures of deities include Siva and Parvati in separate panels; or together in one, where the goddess turns aside in fear on beholding the terrific form of her spouse; Kartikeya with the peacock; Gaja Lakshmi; the gods Agni and Kuvera; the Kachchhappa Jataka cleverly represented; and

there are scenes depicting archery. In other panels men and women appear in contorted attitudes, and a monstrous lion is depicted, its long neck towering over a smaller beast which has a curiously porcine look. "Many are occupied," says Dr. Spooner of these panels, "with merely decorative devices, some of which are of extreme beauty and fascination. One shows a design based upon the hexagon, which Sir John Marshall tells me was supposed, like the pointed arch, to be exclusively of Moslem inspiration in this country; while others show a great variety of intricate and altogether charming geometrical designs. Perhaps the strangest, though, are those panels which represent apparently folding doors or gates, where one wing of the gate is shown to be closed, while the other half is rendered open by the simple device of not sculpturing it at all, but letting one-half of the figure within appear to view. One panel is entirely taken up with the heraldic mask so popular in Gupta art and in the art of later times, down to the coming of the Moslems. Another shows a human-headed bird with very flowery tail, the whole having a curiously Burmese look about it. A very heraldic pheasant sort of bird is strutting like any jackdaw of Rheims in another, swinging triumphantly an inverted Vajra in his beak."

The outside stone plinth having been cleared, Dr. Spooner came to some foundation stones on which the superstructure rests, and still lower down to what appeared to be a brick pavement a few feet wide, at the edge of which a trench was dug down some 8 feet. From the evidence disclosed in this operation it became clear that the stone temple above was a much later structure erected over an older brick building; and as the panels of the plinth, according to Dr. Spooner, are assignable to about the sixth or seventh century A.D., it would appear that these materials were taken from an older building and utilized in the decoration of this temple, the level of which in relation to the other strata disclosed in the Nalanda area postulates a considerably later date

for it. Dr. Spooner continues: "The exquisite quality of the carvings shows that their date must have been not far distant from Imperial Gupta times."

The external dimensions of the temple are 118' by 102', but nothing definite can be said of the interior plan until further clearance is carried out. The usual position of the sanctum is covered with a debris of huge stones, and except two chambers, one on each side of the entrance, nothing can yet be made out. Fragments of the crowning amalaka, and various stone members used in the construction of the temple, are lying about the debris-covered remains.

Among the more noteworthy sculptures recovered here during the excavations were:—

1. Buddha under a trefoil canopy and seated in the dharma-chakra mudra in the Deer Park at Benares. Late mediæval. Height 1' 8".

2. Vishnu standing and holding in his four hands the sankh, chakra, gada and padma. Height 7".

We now come to the Line of High Mounds parallel to the range of monasteries.

The high stupa at the south end of the range of mounds running north and south and parallel to the line of monasteries, is the Vihara A of Cunningham, described as being 33 feet high and about 70 feet thick at the top. This he would identify with the stupa mentioned by Yuan Chwang as marking the place where the Lord Buddha dwelt for three months explaining the law to the gods.

In the course of excavating the stupa three different integuments of new masonry, each completely enclosing the previous one, were brought

Stupa No. 3.

to light. It appears that, unlike the case of the monasteries, the builders did not wait for the ruin of the older structure before renewing it, but enlarged the stupa by an altogether new masonry facing, leaving intact the Buddhist figures in stucco on the face of the original solid structure; if, indeed, this latter be the original and not itself a secondary integu-

ment, which further excavation must be undertaken to disclose. It also appears that the stupa had four towers abutting on to the corners. Each successive addition, it is interesting to note, followed the original plan, and to give suitable support to the additional masonry to be erected, a square framework of encasing walls was built on each side, the casing then being filled in to form a solid core for the enlarged stupa.

The main stupa stands surrounded in the court by a large number of smaller stupas, built one over the other on the same spot, sometimes two and three times. As the main stupa increased in size, the level of the original court, too, generally rose, and many smaller stupas are found in several places half or completely buried in the various floors which have been unearthed. At present three distinct levels of the stupa-court can be seen. The first, the existing general level; the second, a stratum some three feet higher revealed by two prone fragmentary stone pillars lying where they had fallen to the right of the entrance, and almost coincident in level with the very late brick platform on the west; and the third, about 4 feet below the first, at the south-east corner of the stupa. A factor having an important bearing on the chronology of these levels is the existence of the paved drain already mentioned which originates in the courtyard of monastery No. IA and enters the stupa court at this latter place, thus clearly demonstrating that the three levels referred to above are later than the monastery No. IA; for it is highly improbable that a domestic drain would be carried through the sacred enclosure of the stupa court, especially when it could without apparent difficulty be diverted clear of it to the south. This feature further indicates that all three levels came into existence after the adjacent monastery had fallen to ruin and was deserted; otherwise one would have expected to find further drains proceeding from it, when the later levels of the stupa court were disclosed; but this was not the case.

From this stupa a long trench running north some 1,500 feet up to the high mound at the extreme north end of the site was

dug by Dr. Spooner, which brought to light the remains of numerous small stupas, several shrines and brick pavements, etc. The excavation yielded very few finds; the only thing worth recording being a seated figure of Avalokitesvara found towards the southern end of the trench.

If we may identify them with Yuan Chwang's description, the high mounds lying in the middle and at the northern extremity of the range of stupa mounds over which the trench was carried, were 200 feet and 300 feet high, respectively. The latter of these, Cunningham identifies with Baladitya's Temple which, according to the Chinese pilgrim, closely resembled the temple of Bodhi-Gaya. This last, however, in its present form is actually only about 170 feet high. The colossal statue of the ascetic Buddha, locally called Batuk Bhairava set up in an enclosure near the foot of this mound was, it would seem, originally enshrined in the Temple itself. Another statue of Buddha in the *bhumisparsa* attitude has also been set up near by. It is attended by a standing figure on each side and has two flying figures with garlands overhead. The names of them all are inscribed, the attendants being Arya Vasumitra and Arya Maitreya, and the flying figures Arya Sariputra and Arya Maudgalyana, the two principal disciples of Buddha, who, being Arhats, possessed the power of flying through the air. It is to be remarked that an encasing wall on the south side of Baladitya's Temple can still be seen, providing another instance of the practice of enlarging an original structure. On the south and west sides, a little lower than this, a plinth has been disclosed with a dado containing at least two series of panels, one above the other, decorated with low pilasters of well carved pot-and-foilage design and enclosing the representation of a stupa.

In connexion with the history of this temple, it is to be surmised that the king Baladitya of Yuan Chwang's account, is possibly to be identified with the Gupta king Narsimha Baladitya (cir. A.D. 485 to 530).

But it is indeed a very speculative procedure to identify any of the buildings on the present site with Yuan Chwang's vague and somewhat perfunctory descriptions of them ; and it is much more difficult to reconcile the historical personages and dates he mentions with those known to us from other sources.

Several instances of such discrepancies make their appearance in his writings. One may cite his reference to the Emperor Asoka Maurya as the great-grandson of Bimbisara of the Saisunaga dynasty, vide Beal's *Life of Hiuen Tsiang*, page 101. Again in the same translation, Yuan Chwang refers to "the 700 years since the foundation of the establishment" (of the Nalanda monastery) ; and while I cannot find a parallel to this statement in the later work of Watters *On Yuan Chwang*, both Watters and Beal agree as regards the passage recording that the monastery of Sakraditya was founded "not long after the decease of the Buddha." Now 700 years prior to 640 A.D., the assumed date of Yuan Chwang's visit to Nalanda, takes us back to 60 B.C., and if, as is most generally accepted, the date of Buddha's death is taken as 483 B.C., the pilgrim is in error to the extent of some 423 years. So in regard to such identification one must needs proceed with due circumspection, and rely for chronological data more particularly on the internal evidence the site affords.

In view of the traditional association of Nalanda with the Buddha and certain of his relics, and the fact that a stupa was said by Fa Hian (vide Legge's *Travels*, page 81) to have been in existence there in his time (405-411 A.D.) marking the spot of the contemporary disciple Sariputra's decease, Dr. Spooner is hopeful that we may recover some remains of a far earlier period than those already disclosed, none of which can be dated anterior to the sixth century A.D. Recent excavation in several pits in monastery No. I to a depth of 12 feet below the lowest stratum of occupation has, however, failed to reveal anything but virgin soil ; but this, of course, is not conclusive, and one may yet hope for still earlier finds.

The fame of Nalanda throughout the mediaeval period was far spread. Even with the political decadence of Magadha, Nalanda continued to enjoy a reputation as the centre of Buddhist culture, and retained it under the patronage of the Pala kings right up to the Muhammadan conquest, when the monasteries with their abundant libraries were burnt to ashes. Evidence of the wide renown of Magadha as the centre of the Buddhist world is afforded in the fact that Vati, or Hsiao Yen, the first Liang emperor of China, who was an ardent Buddhist, sent a mission here in A.D. 539 to collect *Mahayanist* texts, and to obtain the services of a competent scholar to translate them. The king of Magadha, probably either Jivita Gupta I or Kumara Gupta III, gladly complied with the wishes of the emperor, and placed the services of the learned Paramartha at the disposal of the mission, which spent several years in India, and which Paramartha afterwards accompanied back to China, taking with him a large collection of the manuscripts he had translated.

The *Gazetteer* says that, from this monastery, Padmasambhava, the founder of Lamaism, went to Tibet in A.D. 747 at the invitation of the Tibetan king, and that traces of its widespread influence may even now be seen in the Lhobrak valley where there is a shrine built on the model of Nalanda.

For the final destruction of the monastery, and indeed of Buddhism itself as a living force in Magadha, its ancient home, the Muhammadan adventurer Muhammad ibn Bukhtiyar Khilji is responsible. His sack of the locality was so thorough and his slaughter of its monks so complete, that when it was sought to find some one capable of explaining the contents of the books in the libraries, we are informed by the contemporary historian that not a living man could be found who was able to read them.

At the present stage of operations for the excavation of the site it is impossible to attempt an account that can be considered as in any way conclusive, but this is a brief record of the buildings as revealed to date.

An Address on Indian Paintings.

By P. C. Manuk, Esq., Barrister-at-law.

Your Excellency, Sir Basanta Mullick, Ladies and Gentlemen. When I was first approached by the Vice-President of the Research Society with the suggestion that I should deliver a lecture on Indian Paintings at this Annual General Meeting, I hesitated to accept the flattering invitation on two grounds:—

Firstly.—Never having filled the role of a lecturer I was naturally nervous as to how I would acquit myself of the task, especially before so critical an audience.

Secondly.—Although I have gathered a vast amount of information on the topic of Indian Pictorial Art by handling hundreds of specimens, by inspecting hundreds more in the various public collections in India, in Paris and London, as also by extracting information from the descendants of Indian Artists, I have not yet had time to marshal or co-ordinate the information so acquired, far less to digest the material and form definite views on debatable questions connected with the topic.

(Though therefore painfully conscious of my shortcomings, the persuasive tongue of Sir Basanta prevailed and here I am committed to the lecture, as the prayer book says “for better” or “for worse”).

It is mainly to arouse some interest in and stimulate appreciation of the undoubted beauty of this side of Indian Art that I am here this evening. By way of preface, may I point out that this is not an inappropriate subject for a lecture in this town because Patna is the fortunate possessor of the very unique collection of illustrated manuscripts housed in the Khuda Buksh Oriental Library and, if it is permissible to say so, there is also the less known but nevertheless representative collection of which I am the fortunate possessor. Here and now, I desire to pay

tribute to that public spirited son of Bihar, my late friend Khan Bahadur Khuda Buksh, who made that magnificent collection and eventually established it as a public trust. I would be ungrateful if I did not also express my gratitude to his son Mr. Khuda Buksh, of the Police Force, who helped me greatly in my own early days of collecting and even now frequently helps me with valuable advice.

My time being limited, however, I can but touch on salient features of the subject with occasional illustrations from examples which I have brought here to-day from my collection. In passing, I may add that these pictures have never been shown away from *their* home which is *my* home, but I felt that I might make an exception in the case of a public body like the Research Society one of whose aims is to investigate the sources of Indian culture as represented by its art.

First and foremost, let me warn those of my audience who have been nourished on Western traditions that they must not approach the Pictorial Art of India with the academic prejudices of the classical Western school, founded on standards developed from Greek or Roman principles.

Already the elect have begun to realise that there is in Oriental art (and that includes the subject of my discourse) merit of a truly high order and I, as an enthusiast, naturally want you to belong to the elect. Living, as I have lived with these beautiful productions of the pen and brush of Indo-Persian and Indian Artists, I have no hesitation in saying that they display a culture and a refinement which must command our admiration and respect for a civilisation no whit inferior to, though developed on ideals different from, those of the West.

There is little time at my disposal this evening for a historic review of the subject—suffice it to say that there is with few exceptions no authentic works of the artist's brush, so far as I know, of the period between that of the Ajanta caves.¹ Frescoes which date from the 5th or 6th century of the Christian era and

¹ For the Pallava period specimens are the paintings on frescoes in the Sittannavasāl rock-cut temple. See *Ind. Ant.*, 1923, p. 45, on these newly-discovered paintings.—Editor.

the so called Indo-Persian or Moghul school—which first arrived in India with the Mohammadan conquerors of the 15th and 16th centuries. That the Ajanta and other cave pictures have survived through the centuries is undoubtedly due to the accident of their execution in caves or rather habitations cut into the solid rock. Temples, palaces, and such like places in which paintings would ordinarily be preserved suffered from constant invasion and plunder, and this may be one reason for the long blank in pictorial art in India. Climate undoubtedly would also be a factor in robbing posterity of the paintings of those early times. One of the exceptions alluded to above is, I believe, a Sanskrit manuscript dating from the pre-Moghul period with pictures of Buddhist buildings in Java and other Asiatic countries. Then there are the manuscripts or fragments of manuscripts and specimens of pictorial art found by Sir Aurel Stein and others in Chinese Turkistan. Some of these are reproduced in Mr. Vincent Smith's *History of Fine Arts in India and Ceylon* and bear a remarkable family resemblance to the Ajanta frescoes.

To come back to the Moghul Period, it is known that Babar, the father of Akbar, had painters working under his patronage and was himself a contemporary of the great Persian Master, Behizad, who flourished at the end of the 15th and the beginning of the 16th century. The enlightened though illiterate Akbar the Great gave the first definite impulse to what came to be known as the Moghul School of painting. His son Jehangir was an enthusiastic lover of Pictorial art, a generous patron of artists and prided himself on his critical powers. On his death Shah Jehan (1628—1658), the builder of the Taj, continued this patronage and his reign may be taken as the culmination of Moghul magnificence both historically and pictorially (Shews specimens).

It is interesting to learn that Rembrandt made free copies from imported Indian paintings about the middle of the 17th century.

Regarding the origin of Moghul Pictorial art it is generally accepted that it was born in Persia and transplanted to India

where it continued its healthy development. The Persians in their turn were undoubtedly instructed by Chinese artists though there are many who think that this is too sweeping a statement. According to these, the Eastern Persian School was definitely Chinese, its paintings subdued in colour, vigorous in line and sweeping in brushwork, while the Western school was gorgeous in colour, full of people attitudinising and with no strikingly perceptible Chinese influence. The gorgeous painting probably by Behizad, once the front page of a *Shahnama*, showing, as it does, strong Chinese influence in the facial features and conventional background and rich as it is in colour with numerous courtiers, attendants, etc., does not seem quite to square with the latter theory (shews painting and other Persian examples).

However that may be, Persian art soon fell victim to its new environment and to what was possibly the charm of Indian tradition. In spite of the stiff formality that generally prevailed throughout the Moghul period of painting more particularly noticeable in their court scenes, these miniatures nevertheless delight the eye and please the senses. It appears to be historically correct that more than one artist often collaborated in the production of a single picture, but I believe that this is only true of the more elaborate productions by the Court painters of the Grand Moghuls. On the other hand, there are pictures of both the middle and late Moghul periods which are purely Indian in character. This has been taken by some critics as internal evidence of the indigenous or Indian origin of what is known as the Moghul school. There is in my opinion little foundation and no necessity for India to make quite so extravagant a claim. It is far more reasonable to suppose that in their new atmosphere the descendants of Persian artists working side by side with the Hindu Court painters absorbed Indian methods which were part of the traditional heritage of their Hindu colleagues. As some one has well put it : " every culture assumes only so much of a foreign influence as is fit for it and art is as organical as life itself ". Whatever the real reason may be, I am inclined to think that the most spiritual specimens of miniature painting

of the Moghul period probably come from the pen and the brush of Hindu artists. I may shortly state my reasons :—To the Mohammadan, the depicting of the human figure or anything that had life was declared *haram* or sinful, by the edicts of his religion. Having to give expression to the art in them, the Persians first developed the art of beautiful calligraphy to which their script so admirably lent itself. They next illuminated these and turned them into what may be called beautiful pictures in the widest sense of the word (shews specimens). Next they broke away from their edicts and depicted animal and human figures, but although these productions delight the eye they do not generally speaking appeal to the soul which is always principally influenced by religious fervour. No such edicts however stood in the way of their Hindu colleagues, to whom their Gods and Goddesses were very real beings assuming traditional shapes and forms. The result, therefore, was that the Hindu artist was more able to appeal by his productions to the soul of man and that is after all the supreme test of high art (shews specimens of Delhi school.)

On the other hand, though handicapped by religious tradition in this regard, the Mohammadan artist was the equal of his Hindu colleague in the painting of portraits. By the accuracy of their line drawing without the subtilities of shading, both Mohammadan and Hindu artists were supremely successful in giving such expression to figure and face that the subject's character is exposed for all to see, just as it had been described in words. Both were likewise masters of the palette, by which I mean the making of the pigment itself and the blending of those wonderful colours into a harmonious whole.

With the advent of the bigot Aurangzeb in the latter half of the 17th century the decadence of Moghul art as represented by the Delhi School undoubtedly began. I have, however, in my collection a specimen or two as late as the reign of Mohammad Shah (18th century) which, though damaged, bear traces of strong resemblance to the finer early specimens of that school.

Fortunately, however, for India and posterity, a new school known, for want of a better name, as the Rajput School, had already sprung up. These paintings are generally softer in colour and far more chaste in execution than the specimens of the earlier period. Though less glowing in colour and less lavish in wealth of detail, they have a wonderful charm of their own (shews specimens). I have no time to-night to theorise how or when this school originated. Of this school the pictures that have survived the ravages of time and climate are rarely signed and dated, so one has necessarily to guess in locating a picture to a particular period.

We are on safer ground, however, when we come to the branch known as the Kangra Valley school whose great exponent was one Mola Ram (1760-1833). He flourished in Garhwal on the bank of the Alaknanda, a tributary of the Ganges. Very charming and distinctive are the works of this master and his disciples (shews specimens). They represent invariably scenes from Hindu mythology with inexpressible tenderness.

I am of opinion that there were, also, what may be called various provincial schools of varying degrees of merit, for I have in my collection types which can hardly be allocated either to the Delhi or Jaipore or Rajput or Kangra Valley school of painting.

To come nearer home, in Patna itself a school of another distinctive and pleasing character came into being about the latter half of the last century (shews specimens). I have reason to think that this was due to the patronage extended to Patna artists by two wealthy and art-loving Zamindars of Patna City. With their demise, the artists languished and they migrated to Calcutta and Mr. Iswari Pershad one of the descendants of those artists was and is still, I believe, the Vice-Principal of the Calcutta School of Art and is himself an artist of great merit.

They, however, like their Bengali colleagues, have been absorbed into what is known as the Bengal school which represents the best and most recent revival of modern Pictorial art under the aegis of Mr. Tagore, a master of world-wide reputation. Some fine specimens of this school are to be found in this city in

the collection of Mr. Justice Das and a few specimens are in my own collection. An admirer of that school would say that its artists strive to express the higher spiritual aspects of humanity and nature. A sharper critic may possibly accuse it of a mysticism which impresses but fails to satisfy. Personally I would deplore the increasing foreign influence which is undoubtedly creeping into the Bengal school, for I am too enthusiastic an admirer of what India has produced in the past to have much sympathy with methods that suggest both Japan and Europe. To justify myself I shall now show you two very fine modern pictures, painted on commission for me one by a young Indian artist Babu Rameshwar Pershad Verma of Calcutta and another by an artist from the Punjab. They both follow purely Indian traditions and are proof positive that modern India in striving towards a renaissance has but to follow its own great masters.

A Hindu Text on Painting.

By K. P. Jayaswal, Esq., M.A. (Oxon.), Barrister-at-law.

Up to this time although a lot has been written on Hindu Painting, no Hindu text on the art and science of painting, as the late Dr. V. Smith said in his History of Indian Art, was available. Except a stray quotation on *Chitra-lakshana* cited in the commentary on the Kāma-sāstra nothing written by the Hindus on painting as such had been accessible. This note is a contribution on that subject.

There was a vast literature in Sanskrit on the subject, a glimpse into which is sought to be offered to-day through the present note.

Mahāmahopādhyaya Gaṇapati Śāstrī, the famous Editor of the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, has recently (1922) published the first part of a book called *Silparatna* by Śrī-Kumāra. The book is No. 75 of the series. It deals mainly with the subject of civil engineering, but it has also an interesting chapter on painting. The whole book is based upon earlier or rather ancient Śilpa works in Sanskrit, as the author himself says in Chapter I. verse 7.¹ Śrī Kumāra was a native of Kerala; he flourished in the sixteenth century of the Christian era under a Hindu king within the territory now called the state of Travancore. The treatment of the subjects in the book shows a strong adherence to the ancient Śilpa Śāstras. Similarly, his discussion on painting has all the traditions of the orthodox school.

¹ ' + + + + अति विपुलतरेभ्योय पूर्वागमेभ्यः ।

संचितं शिल्पपरिचयं प्रलिखितुमधुना प्रक्रमे तत्क्रमेण ॥७॥

Of General Directions.

In Chapter 46 the subject called *Chitra lakshana* is handled. The author first uses the word "Chitra" both in the sense of sculpture and painting, and later on he gives his whole attention to painting only under the term. The definition of *Chitra* is given thus :—

Whatever there may be in the universe moveable or immoveable, a representation thereof according to their individual nature is called "*Chitra*".¹ *Chitra* is known (in the books) to be three-fold ; its division is laid down to be—

(1) "A complete representation of the whole scene (subject-matter)—the whole body—is called *Chitra*."²

(2) "*Ardha-Chitra* ('half representation') is there when one portion (lit. 'half') is represented, making it united with wall and the like."³

(3) "*Chitrābhāsa* (*Chitra in appearance*) is called by ancient authorities on art that portional representation which is produced by painting (lit. writing)".⁴

In other words, what Hindu authorities called *Chitra* is a statue or a full bodily representation of another object. The second division is probably carving. And the third, which is not *Chitra* but a *delusion* (*abhāsa*) of *Chitra* or the *image*, produced in art, is what we call to-day painting.

¹ जङ्गमा वा स्थावरा वा ये सन्ति भुवनत्रये ।

तत्तत्स्वभावतस्तेषां करणं चित्रमुच्यते ॥२॥

² तच्चित्रं तु त्रिधा ज्ञेयं तस्य भेदोऽयुजोच्यते ।

सर्वाङ्गदृश्यकरणं चित्रमित्यभिधीयते ॥३॥

³ मित्यादौ लग्नभावेनाप्यर्थं यत्र प्रदृश्यते । तदर्थचित्रमित्युक्तं ॥

⁴ यत्तत्तेषां विलेखनम् । चित्राभासमिति ख्यातं पूर्वैः शिल्प विशारदैः ॥

Chitra or *Chitrārḍha* can be done in clay or cement, in wood or stone, in metal or in bricks. They are

Materials.

to be made in various materials as traditionally known and traditionally taught.¹

As to the "delusion of image" or painting, the material, in verse 7, is laid down to be appropriate colours (युक्तवर्णैः) worked upon wall, etc., polished with cement (सुधाभिः स्निग्धमित्वादौ). According to verse 34 the basis of a picture could be a board or a cloth in addition to walls "polished like mirror."²

It is evident that fresco-painting is the most prominent method before the Hindu writers. Examples of it are well known—Ajanta, Bagh, Sigri, Sittannvāsāl and walls of palaces mentioned in Sanskrit literature. Examples of painting on boards have not survived, but they too are a familiar topic of Hindu dramatists and polite writers in general. Examples of the third class live in so-called Tibetan "flags." They were rolled up as evidenced by Bhāsa. In the same style the Tibetan pictures are kept today, and the system extends to the Far East probably as a result of Buddhist paintings introduced from India.

The following scenes are not to be painted in private residences : war, death, suffering, stories

Prohibited scenes.

of gods and demons, naked figures, deeds of hermits. The first three prohibitions

find an affinity in another fine art of the Hindus, viz. Histrionics. As on the Hindu stage, representation of a battle scene, death and tragedy was considered offensive against aesthetics, so it was regarded in Hindu painting in view of the information now before us. The last two prohibitions are explainable on the ground of decency. The story of gods and demons evidently refers to the story of their war.

¹ चित्रं वाप्यथ चित्रार्थं मृदा वा सुधयापि वा ॥५॥
दाहणा शिलयावाय लोहैरिष्टकयापि वा । तत्तद्रथ्यैः प्रकुर्वीत यथा
दृष्टं यथा श्रुतम् ॥६॥ यथा युक्ति यथा शोभं नाना वर्णैश्च भूषयेत् ।

² एवं धवलिते भित्तौ दर्पणोदर सन्निभे । फलकादौ पटादौ वा
चित्रलेखनमारभेत् ॥३४॥

Subjects recommended to the artist and the patron (चित्रविचित्र-
तफलदं भर्तुः कर्तुं सर्वदा ॥१२॥) are : "A picture
Ideal subjects. in an attractive form should depict a classical
story, as found in a particular branch of
Vedic literature. It should neither be more nor less than
that in any detail. It should be pleasant to the mind and
should have several colours. The forms should be proper and
appropriate ; sentiment and mood and action (क्रिया¹) should
be combined in their places."²

The Hindu painter is thus supposed to be a man not
merely literate but thoroughly educated, as
Hindu painter he has to distinguish between versions of a
an educated particular story according to particular Vedic
man. schools. It was not an art for the unlearned.

This is supported by the Kāmasūtra of Vātsyāyana which directs
that the *nāgarika* or the Hindu educated in polite literature should
practise painting and should have his board and brush in
his drawingroom.³

Of Technical Directions.

From verse 14 up to the end, i.e. verse 147, follow details
of technical directions. I shall mention only some of them.
The subject is really a study for a professional artist. I am
only attempting some details to induce painter-scholars to take
up the subject.

The plaster with which a wall for fresco-painting was
dressed was prepared by burning conch-shells
Fresco ground: and mixing the powder with a *mudga*
how prepared. (*mung* pulse, *phaseolus mungo*) decoction
and molasses (*gudatoya*) and sand. A paste prepared from

¹ Cf. Bhasa, 'अहो क्रियमाधुर्यम् पाषाणानाम्.

² भित्तिर्यदौ तत्रलेख्यस्याश्चित्रं चित्रतराकृति ॥१०॥ स्वागमाखिल-
वेदादि पुराणोक्तकथान्वितम् । नानावर्णान्वितं रस्यं न न्यूनं नाधिकं
क्वचित् ॥ ११ ॥ तत्र तत्रोचिताकाररसभावाकथान्वितम् । चित्रं
विचित्रफलदं भर्तुः कर्तुं सर्वदा ॥१२॥

³ 'नागदन्तावसक्ता बीणा, चित्रफलकं, वर्तिकासमुद्गको, यः
कश्चित्पुस्तकः, कुरणक मालाश्च'.

banana fruit was also mixed with the plaster. Their proportion is also given. The plaster took three months in the process of preparation.

The wall was first treated with a brush made of the fibres of the cocoanut fruit. The fibres were well beaten. For several days the surface was applied with sugar water (गुतोयेन सिक्का) Then with a smooth *darvi* (trowel) made of iron or wood the plaster was applied, very slowly, and with the cocoanut brush pure water was sprinkled on it. When the plaster was dry colouring was done. It is laid down that on a board the plaster is not to be applied.

Five colours are considered to be the chief ones : white (सित), yellow (पैत), red (रक्त), black (कृष्ण) and also dark (violet ?¹ श्याम). On the plastered wall white was first applied. White was prepared from conch-shell and china clay (सितम्बुत्). Bitter gum of the *nīm* tree (*Azadirachta*) and *kapittha* (*Veronia elephantum*) was used in preparing the white ground. This was done, evidently, with the purpose of making the wall safe against whiteants and similar great destroyers of paintings and books in India.

The brush for doing outlines was of the shape of a *varīkā* the pointed wick of the open Hindu lamp). It was of sizes from one to four inches. It was disinfected and cured in a preparation of old earth and cowdung.

The painter would draw subjects like gods, men, elephants, birds, creepers, trees, mountains, or oceans²—subjects which the artist has ascertained by hearing, seeing or imagining (श्रोत्राभ्यां वाय नेत्राभ्यां मनसा वाय निश्चिताम्). He would start the outline with the outlining brush at an auspicious moment with a peaceful mind, sitting at ease. He should think over and over again in drawing the outline. When the line goes wrong, he should take it off with a new piece of cloth.

¹ But see the use of *syāmojvalatva* below.

² See the last para. below.

Outline (किटलेखा) was drawn in yellow and it was drawn faint in the first instance. It is directed to be finally done in red.

Directions to prepare the five main dyes are given in verses 41 to 52. They are all vegetable dyes and the process is laborious and lengthy. The artist has to prepare them with his own hands.

Dyes.

Metallic dyes are treated separately.

"Pens", i.e. brushes for colouring are of three sizes; they are "thick", "fine" and "middling". The painting brushes were made of the hair from the tail of squirrels. It ended in a point.

A r t i s t ' s
"pen" or
brush.

For the thick brush, hair grown on the stomach of a goat or hair from the ear of a calf were collected. They were attached to a pin with fibres or lac. The circumference is detailed in the text as well as the nature of the pin. For every colour there were nine brushes.

From verse 60 to verse 110 the author gives directions to make figures. At first he classifies different positions of the figure. The positions are called *Sthānas*, and they are nine in number in the opinion of masters of painting (चित्रलेखकाः). The first of them is *Riju* ("simple"). This is *frontal* (सम्मुख). *Partially frontal* position is the second (अर्धजुं). Then there are three *non-frontal* positions. These five are the chief technical positions. (पञ्चस्थानानि मुख्यानि कथितानीह संज्ञयत्). The *non-frontal* ones are—

(a) *Sāchika* or oblique.

(b) *Dvyardhākshika* where both eyes have to be partially represented.

(c) *Pārsvagata* or side-long.

Four secondary varieties are the opposite ones of four positions out of the above five. In verse 109 the author says that out of the main positions several mixed ones may be invented, as, for instance, face may be frontal but body may be differently posted

and so on. The position is a creation of the wise artist and so are the business and expressions of the painting (verse 110).¹

It is noteworthy that the frontal position is regarded as the easiest, for it is called "simple." The art canon here differs from that of Hindu sculpturing gathered from known examples wherein frontal position is the ruling and favourite principle. Hindu painters have given more thought to non-frontal portraiture than Hindu sculptors.

The positions are further described on the basis of *Brahma Sûtra*, the main line with reference to which proportions are poised. *Brahma Sûtra* is a line drawn from the crown to the feet.

**Brahma Sûtra
or Central
line.**

Details of proportions and measurements are too technical to be given here. That is a subject which would require an intensive study by an artist. Directions are given about the proportions of all the limbs. In giving the details for the limbs, etc., the author uses several technical terms known to his science but unknown to dictionaries.

Verses 111 to 146 (i.e. up to the end of the chapter) are devoted to the subject of colouring. A wise painter should do the colouring slowly and spotlessly, first with a thick brush, and should produce low and high effect by the colouring (112). Dark and light are the two main divisions (श्यामोन्वलत्व भेदौ च); and severe and soft are the two main effects (तथा पारुष्यमार्दवान् विन्यासक्रम भेदौ च). Darkness is produced by thickness, and lightness by thinness ; at times the effect is produced by a change in colouring. To produce darkness in white and yellow, red may be used, and on the margin black may be very finely applied. A very sharp razor is to be employed in taking off a colouring deeper than what is necessary.

The author deals (from verse 117 onwards) with metallic and organic colouring. For light red, red lead (सिन्दूर) is to be

¹ एवं स्वस्वोचितं स्थानं मनसा निश्चित्य बुद्धिमान् ।

लिखेच्चित्रगतं भावं तथा व्यापारमेव च ॥

used ; for middling red, red chalk (गैरिक). Deep red is to be produced by lac dye, for yellow "red arsenic" (मनश्शिला) is to be employed. The paste is finally done in the bitter juice of

nīm as in cases of the vegetable dyes
Gold-leaf. (122). Gold to be used has to be done in

leaf (पत्रकृत्य) ; it has to be made very fine, a little sand should be put in and ground along with it. The paste is to be placed in a glass vessel (जाते सुपिष्टे तत्पिष्टे काच-पत्रे जलेः सह)¹ [Glass was manufactured in India quite commonly in the third and fourth centuries B.C. Seal matrices with Brāhmi legends, cast in green glass, have been discovered in the Kumhrar and Bulandibagh excavations (Patna). Glass gems are known to the Arthaśāstra of Kautilya. Knowledge of glass in India goes back even to the atapatha-Brāhmaṇa.] Polish on gold in painting was produced by friction with a boar-tusk.

Gold was painted with *Vajralepa* or "permanent paste". It is important to note how *Vajralepa* was prepared. The painter's *Vajralepa* was prepared from buffalo skin. The skin was boiled down to the condition of butter. It was strained and converted into balls dried in the hot sun.

Mixture of colours is treated from verse 134 to verse 142. For fair complexion white and red were mixed.
Mixture of colours. White, dark and yellow give the beautiful pale colour. White and dark give the complexion of the elephant. Red and yellow produce the colour of the flame. For human complexion a double quantity of yellow was mixed with blue. Similarly, yellow orpiment, lac dye, and vermilion mixtures are discussed. For hair black and blue were used.

It seems that lac dye and vermilion and also probably orpiment were not used in fresco-painting (143) but were used in temporary painting which was called *Dhāvichitra* or "powder (lit 'dust') painting."

¹ See better readings at the end of the text.

The ancient *Chitrakāras* (Hindu painters) had a division of painting in three classes: (1) *Dhūli-chitra* 'powder painting'; (2) *Chitra* which was realistic (सादृश्यं) "as if a reflex in a mirror" (सादृश्यं दृश्यते यत्तु दर्पणे प्रतिबिम्बवत्) and (3) *Rasa-chitra* or "Sentiment painting." "The sentiment, as Śringāra or love, was gathered from the scene" (शृङ्गारादि रसो यत्र दर्शनादेव गम्यते).

Needless to say that it is to this class that the majority of Hindu paintings belongs.

Verse 147 gives the important information that directions about painting have reference to the fresco-painting in palaces. Ajanta, therefore, represents palaces cut into rock and not caves. As most of the Hindu palaces have been destroyed, examples of fresco-painting outside the rock cut imitation-houses have disappeared.

It would be interesting to compare a datum from the Jātakas on fresco-painting with regard to the subjects and the ideal subjects given above. In Volume VI. of the Jātakas (page 132, Maha-um-magga-Jātaka) we find an underground palace described. The description is the description of a palace. In the passage to the court realistic statues were placed. On the walls paintings by clever painters showed scenes of the splendour of Sakka, the zones of Mount Sineru (सुमेरु), the sea and the ocean, the four continents, Himvat (हिमालय), Lake Annotatta, the Vermilion Mountain, Sun and Moon, the heaven of the four great kings with the six heavens of sense and their divisions.

The whole description is interesting:

The entrance into the greater tunnel was in the city: it was provided with a door, eighteen hands high, fitted with machinery, so that one peg being pressed all were closed up. On either side, the tunnel was built up with bricks and worked with stucco; it was roofed over with planks and smeared with cement, and whitened. In all there were eighty

great doors and sixty-four small doors which all by the pressure of one peg closed and by the pressure of one peg opened. On either side there were some hundreds of lamp-cells also fitted with machinery, so that when one was opened all opened, and when one was shut all were shut. On either side were a hundred and one chambers for a hundred and one warriors: in each one was laid a bed of various colours, in each was a great couch shaded by a white sunshade, each had a throne near the great couch, each had a statue of a woman, very beautiful, without touching them no one could tell they were not human. Moreover, in the tunnel on either side, clever painters made all manners of paintings; splendour of Sakka, the zones of Mount Sineru, the sea and the ocean, the four continents, Himvat, Lake Annotatta, the Vermilion Mountain, Sun and Moon, the heaven of the four great kings with the six heavens of sense and their divisions—all were to be seen in the tunnel. The floor was strewn with sand white as a silver plate, and on the roof full-blown lotus flowers. On both sides were booths of all sorts; here and there hung festoons of flowers and scented blooms. Thus they adorned the tunnel until it was like the divine hall of Sudhamma (देवसभा).—*Cambridge translation.*

I.—Sanskrit Lexicography.

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The Sanskrit Literature is very extensive. Printed catalogues of the works already published are numerous and several of them are voluminous, consisting of 500 or even more pages (e.g., the Catalogues of Printed Books, India Office). Some of the printed Catalogues of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in Indian and European Libraries cover many thousand pages (e.g. Anfrecht's Catalogus Catalogorum and catalogues of the Bodleian and Berlin libraries. These lists with the published Reports on the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the public or state libraries and private collections in Kashmir, Nepal, Rajputana, etc., form quite a separate subject of study known as Sanskrit Bibliography to lovers of Oriental learning. Of this extensive literature lexicography is one of the most useful and attractive sections. The Sinhalese Sanskrit *tika* of Purushottamadeva's Trikāṇḍaśeṣa mentions by name (or by the author's name) about 200 Sanskrit koshas and if we refer to the big European catalogues mentioned above it will not be difficult to put together a thousand names directly or indirectly connected with the Sanskrit lexicography. But the extant Sanskrit lexicons great or small are scarcely a hundred in number and of these less than thirty are of any value to the student of Sanskrit. Some of the most important names are given here.

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| 1 The Samāmnāya (anonymous) with Tikā of Devarāja and Nirukta of Yāska, A. S. B. | 5 Abhidhāna Chintamaṇi of Hemachandra with his own Tikā, Bhāvanagar. |
| 2 Nāmaligānuśāsana of Amarasiṃha with Rāmāśramā Bombay, with Sarvanandas Tikā Travancore, with Kshirasvāmin, Puna. | 6 Kalpadru of Keśava MS. |
| 3 Vaijayanṭī of Yādava Text, Madras. | 7 Tirkāṇḍa śeṣa of Purushottamadeva, Bombay. |
| 4 Abhidhāna Ratnamālā of Halayudha Ed. Anfrecht. | 8 Dhanvantri Nighanṭu, Poona. |
| | 9 Maṇapāla Nighanṭu, Calcutta. |

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| 10 Rājanighanṭu, Poona. | 16 Viśva Prakāśha, Choukhamba,
S. S. Benares. |
| 11 Kaiyādeva MS. | 17 Nānārthārnava-Sankhepa of
Keśava Swamin, Travancore. |
| 12 Rudra, MS. | 18 Haimānekārtha with author's own
Anekārtha-Kairavakarakaumudī
Ed. Zachariae. |
| 13 Amaradatta's Nāmamālā MS. | 19 Medinī, Calcutta. |
| 14 Rabhasapāla's Rabhasakosha MS. | |
| 15 Maṅkhakosha Ed. Zachariae. | |

There are three published collections of Koshas—Abhidhāna Sangraha, Bombay; Śaṭkosha Sangraha, Benares, and Dvādasa Kosha Sangraha, Benares.

The Samāmnāya (commonly known under the name of the निघण्टु : or निघण्टवः) is the earliest Sanskrit Thesaurus in existence.

It is a collection of all the important Vedic synonyms culled from the Vedic Samhitās, chiefly from the Rīgveda Samhitā. Lists

**Fifth or Sixt
Century B. C.**

of proper names, etc. are appended to the work. The whole work consists of unversified lists.¹ It belongs to pre-Buddhistic ages and apparently knows no other original literature than the Vedic one. Yāska has written his Nirukta² on the Samāmnāya, annotating words which he thinks important and illustrating the same with quotations from Vedic literature. In recent times (four or five centuries ago) another commentary was written on the Samāmnāya dealing with every word as it occurs in the text.³ Pāṇini, the famous grammarian, refers to the word Yāska in a rule (यस्कादिभ्योगोत्रे २,३,६,) and many infer from this that Yāska is one of his predecessors. In the early ages when the Samāmnāya was compiled only a limited number of words were thought to be difficult or important enough to find a place in a vocabulary. But as time went on many derivatives and compounds easily intelligible before, became obscure and archaic and the need for

¹ It was versified in the eighteenth century by Bhāskararāya in his Vaidika-Nighanṭu, Ed. Bombay by Godbole.

² The Nirukta is considered to be one of the six angas of Vedic lore. Besides the work of Yāska there were other Niruktas. Many Niruktas are mentioned by Yāska himself.

³ It mentions other Tikas preceding it, particularly one by Skandavāmin.

a more comprehensive Vedic lexicon must have been often felt by the scholars. But until very recent times no Pandit ever attempted to supply this need and it is not to the credit of the Indians that German scholars were the first to essay the task.

As time went on, Vedic studies declined. This was partly due to the Buddhist influence and partly to other causes. From about the Maurya epoch onward a secular literature grew up and began to command respect of the great critics, grammarians and philologists. The earlier authors (Pāṇini, Kātyāyana, Vyādi and Patañjali) wrote their great works as helps to the study of this literature chiefly but they did not altogether neglect the Vedas.¹ After Patañjali or even before him the decline of Vedic practice and study was quite complete. The Pauranic and Epic literature grew to be all absorbing. Even orthodox writers like Kālidāsa did not hesitate to jeer at the cruelty of the Vedic rites, e.g. पशुमारणकर्म दारुणः अतुक्म्यान्दुलोपिषोत्रियः शकु ।

Amarasinha, the grammarian-lexicographer,² was the chief exponent of the post-Patañjali School of Sanskrit study. He is said to have written a Brihadamarakosha which is perhaps a mere name.

**Fifth or Sixth
Century A.D.**

His only existing work is the Namalinganusasana (commonly known as the Amarakosa) . This is a practical handbook of the student of authors like Kālidāsa and Bhartṛhari. It is not of much help to those who study the pre-Kālidāsic literature or the pedantic writers who wrote after him. Having no concern with the Vedic idiom, free from slang and provincialism and seldom meddling with technical words, the book is wonderfully concise, consisting of about 10,000 words. Unlike the Samāmnāya the

¹ Perhaps Vyādi was the representative lexicographer of the Pāṇini-Patañjali period, if the lexicographer of this name often quoted by Hemachandra in his Tikā of his own Abhidhāna-Chintāmaṇi is identical with the author of the famous Sangraha frequently cited as an authority by Patañjali.

² This early author is quite distinct from the Jaina author of the Kāvyaikalpalatā and the Bālabhārata. Amarsinha is said to be one of the eight grammarians.

इन्द्रप्रचन्द्रः काशकृतस्तपिशलो शाकटायनः । पाणिन्यमरजनेन्द्रादित्यदौ
शाब्दिकामताः ॥ टीका सारस्वतव्या ।

Amarakosha is in verses, the Anushubh being the metre employed. The Tikās of Amara are numerous and those by Kshirasvāmin, Sarvānanda, Rājamukūṭa and Rāmāśārama are among the most important.

The simple elegance of the Kālidasic age could not continue long. Poets like Subandhu, Bhāravi, Māgha, Bāna, Bhavabhūti, Ratnākara and Rājaśekhara naturally fond of originality and innovation enriched the Sanskrit vocabulary with words borrowed from the archaic and the technical literature (including Theology, Polity, Philosophy, Medicine etc.) and in some instances coined compounds or derivatives which required lexical treatment. This as well as a reaction (in Southern India) in favour of Vedic studies led to many attempts at an amplification of the Amarakosha.

The Vaijayanti of Bhagavad-yādavaprakāśa, the profoundly learned preceptor of Rāmānuja, the founder of the Visishtadvaita Sampradāya, is by far the most important amplification of the Amarakosha. It is a book of wonderful erudition.¹ No branch of the vast Indian literature from the Vedic down to the scholastic age could escape Yādava's notice. Like Amrasinha, Yādava is quite silent about his predecessors. But from the statements of Hemachandra, Medini and the two Keśavas and from other references it would appear that both Amara and Yādava had numerous forerunners in lexicography. Two circumstances about the book are deplorable. The Amarakosha has no Tikā by the original author as some of the works of Hemachandra have, but it has numerous Tikās by very learned ancient scholars. The Vaijayanti on the other hand was neither commented on by the author himself nor have we so far recovered a Tika on it by another man. Besides, it appears that even to the lexicographers like Hemachandra, Medinikara and the author of the Kalpadru a good manuscript of the complete work was not available and they have not been able to utilize it fully. The

¹ Almost every line of this book contains some startling revelation to the reader (e. g. sections on colours, flavors, unmarried girls, mixed castes, etc.) The philosophical sections of this book are not as rich as they ought to be.

only lexicographer who utilized it to his heart's content appears to be Kesavasvāmin, the author of the Nānārthārnava Sankshepa. But even Kesavasvāmin, being (as so far known) a writer only on homonyms has left the more important section on synonyms of the Vaijayantī quite untouched.

The Vaijayantī is no doubt the most comprehensive single volume¹ lexicon of classical India. Its Paryāyabhāga (section on synonyms) shows marvellous industry and research and perfect command of the author over the vast field of Sanskrit literature. But neither its prototype Amara nor this work could do full justice to the homonymous aspect of the Sanskrit lexicon. Amara disposed of the homonyms in less than three hundred slokes. Vaijayantī devoted twice as many to it. Still the subject demanded a separate treatment more satisfactory than that accorded to it either by Amara or Yādava.

Mankha and Maheśvara were two of the greatest lexicographers to give special attention to homonyms. They belong to two different schools. Mankha belongs to the Kashmira School which had developed a very rich Sanskrit literature with distinctive features of its own and his lexicon was specially suited to the needs of the students of this literature while the Viśvaprakāśa-kosha of Maheśvara was a work on a bigger scale meant for the general student. Both are indispensable to the Sanskrit student to-day as both are supplementary to each other.² Mañkha has a good Tikā while Viśva is not known to have one. But Mankha has not been fully utilized by his successors while Viśva has been studied well both by the later lexicographers and the commentators like Mallinatha and Bhanuji Dikshita. The Medinikosha by Medinikara is almost nothing else than a new edition of the

¹ Amaradatta's Nāmamālā and Rabhaskosha are not yet available to the general public.

² One example will show the indispensable character of मङ्ग. The word नासोर occurs in the meaning of camphor in सुतिक्षुसमाञ्जलि but no other lexicon, ancient or modern, notes this.

Visvaparakasha although it condemns विप्रव as having many defects. It mentions more than thirty Koshas by previous authors.¹

Hemachandra, the Jaina omniscient of the Kali age (कलिकाल सर्वज्ञ), is the only lexicographer whose separate works both on synonyms and homonyms have come down to us. His works (the Abhidhāna Chintāmapī, a dictionary of synonyms and the Anekārthakosha, a dictionary of homonyms) have a Tikā by the author himself² and this is a great advantage to the Sanskrit student.

Another important work by Hemachandra is his Nighantūśeṣa, a dictionary of herbs classified. But the Dhanvantari Nighantu, an ancient lexicon of herbs and drugs and its comparatively recent successor, the Rājanighantu of Narahari, are more complete special works on this subject. Hemachandra mentions some fifteen great lexicons³ preceding him and he flourished under चोलेन्द्रकुमारपाल. Keśavasvāmin wrote his Nānārthāṃśava Saṅkṣhepa under Raja-rāja-chola. This work is so far the last word in the line of the

**Kes'āvasvāmin
and Kes'ava
Thirteenth and
Fourteenth
Centuries A.D.**

homonymous lexicons and has many peculiar features. It consists of about 6,000 verses and is (as known so far) the only Sanskrit lexicon which mentions and criticizes the preceding authors and sometimes even cites difficulties and examples from literary works (both Vedic and post-Vedic) in the very body of the versified text. This is also the only

¹ उत्पलिनीशब्दार्थवसंसारवर्तनाममालाख्यान् । भागुरिवररुचिशाप्रवत-
वोपातिरन्तिदेवहरकोषान् । अमरशुभाङ्गहलाशुधगोवर्द्धनरभसपालकृत-
कोषान् । रुद्रामरदत्ताजयगङ्गाधरधरणिर्कोषाश्च । हारवल्गुभिधान-
त्रिकाख्येष्वपि च रत्नमालां च । अपि बहुदोषविप्रवपकाशकोषं च सुविचार्य ।
वामनमाधववाचस्पतिधर्मशब्दितारपालाख्यान् । अपि विप्रवरूपविक्रमादित्य-
नामलिङ्गानि सुविचार्य । कात्यायनवामनचन्द्रगोमिरचितानि लिङ्गशास्त्राणि ।
पाणिनिप्रदानुशासनपुराणकाव्यादिकचसुनिरूप्य । षट्शतगाथाकोषप्रणयन-
विख्यातकौशलेनायम् । मेदिनिकरेण कोषः प्राणकररत्नानां रचितः ।

² It is a mistake of Zachariae to think that the Tika is by Mahendrasuri.

³ प्रामाण्यं वासुकेर्याडिव्युत्पत्तिधनपालतः प्रपञ्चश्च वाचस्पतिप्रभृतेरिह
लक्ष्यताम् अभि० पि० टी० विप्रवपकाशशाप्रवतरभसामरसिंहमङ्गलुगा-
नाम् । आदिधनपालभागुरिवाचस्पतियाद्व्याहीनाम् । अनेकार्थं टी०

Sanskrit Dictionary (known so far) which arranges its words in an alphabetical order ¹ (only a little different from that adopted by modern works). Keśavasvāmin's work is more comprehensive than any existing dictionary of homonyms and deals directly and purposely with both the Vedic and non-Vedic stock of words and embodies and supplements (to some extent) the labours of almost all his predecessors (including Amarasinha, Amaradatta, Rabhasa, Yādava, Ajaya, Śāsvata, Harshanandin and a host of others). To any one who reads this work, the need of a similarly comprehensive work on the Sanskrit synonyms would at once be apparent and it is a pity that no work of this nature by Keśavasvāmin has yet been known to exist. But this want is supplied by the Kalpadru of another lexicographer known simply as Keśava. Keśavasvāmin is a man of Southern India. As for Keśava, writer of the Kalpadru, it cannot be definitely said to what part of India he belonged. Like his namesake of the south Keśava has tried (with some success) to embody the Vedic words in his text. In the beginning of Kalpadru nine lexicographers ending with हेमचन्द्र are mentioned. ²

The general works of reference like those so far described could not do full justice to the special subjects such as medicinal herbs and drugs, indeclinables, single letters, various spellings of the same word, words occurring in mathematics, tantra, etc. The most important and useful

**The Vaidyaka
Nighantus and
other special
works.**

of these special koshas are the Vaidyaka Nighantus. They give the synonymous and homonymous words for the Indian herbs, drugs, minerals, etc noting the properties and use of each.

**Dhanvantarai
Nighantu,
Fifth century
A.D.**

The earliest of these Nighantus is the Dhanvantari Nighantā (in the anushtubh). It is most probably as old as the Amarakosha. Tradition puts both Amara Sinha and Dhan-

¹ But words beginning with the same consonant are arranged according to the vowels of the first syllable, e.g., छयानि precedes जिह्वा

² काव्यवाचस्पतित्यादिभाग्यैर्मरमङ्गलाः । साहसार्कमहेष्वाद्या विजयन्ते
जिसान्तिमाः । कल्पद्रु ।

vantari among the nine gems of king Vikramāditya's Court and this statement may be approximately correct. The second important Nighanṭu is the Madanapala Nighanṭu¹ composed under king Madanapala's patronage. 1375 A.D.

But the latest and most comprehensive Vaidyaka Nighanṭu is that of Narahari Paṇḍit.² It is in all sorts of metres like Trikaṇḍaśeṣa, Halāyudha's Abhidhānaratnamāla and Hemachandra's Abhidhānachintāmaṇi.

Other special works are the Ekākṣharakośhas, Maṭṭkākōśhas, Dvirūpakōśhas, Śabdabhedakośhas, etc.

For over a century direct interchange of ideas is going on between Europe and India and it has borne fruit in the field of lexicography more than in any other branch of literary study. In the last half of the nineteenth century, big Sanskrit lexicons appeared both from Indian and European pens modelled on the style of European dictionaries and encyclopædias.

**Modern works
of Nineteenth
Century A.D.**

**Sabdakalpa-
druma 1860.**

**Sabdārha-
chintāmaṇi
1863-1884.**

**St. Petersburg
1852-1875.**

**Vāchaspatya
1873-1882.**

In the other fields of study we have had translations and original works on Indian subjects by Europeans or their Indian disciples, the indigenous Paṇḍits remaining almost unaffected in their isolation, while in the field of lexicography the latter have shown full activity, even those innocent of English or any other foreign tongue adopting the European style unreservedly. Three important Indian works written purely in Sanskrit (the Sabdarthachintāmaṇi by the ascetic

Sukhānanda, the Sabdakalpadruma compiled by many Paṇḍits at the instance of Sir Rājā Rādhākānta Deva and the Vāchaspatya of Tārānātha Tarka Vāchaspati) and two German works more important than any other similar work, belong to this period. The three Indian lexicons named above are not mere dictionaries but also encyclopædias quoting extensively every branch of

¹Published, Calcutta.

²Published from Ānandāśrama, Poona, along with Dhanvantarai Nighanṭu.

Sanskrit literature available to the authors, and of these the Vāchaspatya is the latest and most comprehensive (consisting of five thick volumes) and has almost superseded the other two. So far as the philosophical terminology (specially Nyāya terms) is concerned, it is decidedly superior to any other work including the German dictionaries, except the Nyāyakosha of Bhimāchārya Jhalkikar. But so far as the Vedic matter is concerned this gigantic work cuts a very sorry figure. Unlike its two Indian prototypes, it makes an attempt to absorb the Vedic words but does not succeed. The great merit of the German lexicons (one set of seven thick volumes by Bohtlingk and Roth and a later set of seven thin volumes by Bohtlingk alone both published from St. Petersburg) is that they are the best general Sanskrit dictionaries (so far) dealing with both the Vedic and the non-Vedic aspects of Sanskrit literature with adequacy and accuracy as far as was practicable in their days. The earlier set gives full quotations and references while the later one (by Bohtlingk alone) gives very few references and no quotations at all. The gravest defect of these magistral lexicons is that the compilers have not exercised the smallest amount of selectiveness either as regards the words or quotations. Myriads of compound words having no special application have been absorbed in the text; this has made the works bloated in size and unwieldy. Two compendiums, one by Cappeller and another by Sir Monier Williams, based on the

**Monier Williams
and Cappeller.**

St. Petersburg lexicons have been published. Selectiveness is wanting even in these and being without quotations they are of little use to the real Sanskrit student.

Bhāsa : His Age and Magadhi.

By Dr. A. Banerji Sastri, M.A., D.Phil. (Oxon), Professor of Sanskrit, Muzaffarpur College.

I. Bhāsa's relation to Vātsyāyana, Bharata, Kauṭilya, Pāṇini, Kātyāyana, Patañjali and Manu.

II. Bhāsa in reference to the Jātakas, Aśoka, Epics, Prosody, Poetics and Fine Arts.

Appendix A.—Complete list of Bhāsa's Māgadhi compared with corresponding forms in Aśoka, Śutanukā, Aśvaghōṣa, Kalidāsa, Mṛcchakaṭika, Mattavilāsa and Mudrārākṣasa.

Appendix B.—Characterization of Bhāsa's Māgadhi.

I.—The Age of Bhāsa.

The conclusions drawn in J.R.A.S., 1921, pages 367-382, may be examined in the light of further evidence from five other sources, viz. 1. Kāmasūtra of Vātsyāyana (end of third century A.D.) ; 2. Nāṭyaśāstra of Bharata (middle of third century A.D.) ; 3. Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya (fourth century B.C.) ; 4. Vyākaraṇas of Pāṇini (c. fourth century B.C.), Kātyāyana (c. third century B.C.) and Patañjali (second century B.C.), and 5. Dharmaśāstra of Manu (c. second century A.D.)

1.—Vatsyayana.

His sources.—(i) Bloomfield¹ has pointed out that the Atharvaveda is the earliest to testify to the ancient Indian's interest in erotics and eugenics. "A group of charms (vi. 8.3 ; iii. 252) is concerned with women,² being intended to secure their love with the aid of various potent herbs."³ (ii) The Mahābhārata (Sānti ch. 59) mentions Prajāpati and his work on Dharma, Artha and Kāma in 100,000 chapters. (iii) Nandī, Mahādeva's mythical follower, is alleged to have dealt with Kāma

¹ Bloomfield, Atharva, Grundriss, pages 7, 68, 69.

² Lanman, Whitney's Atharva, H.O.S. Vol. VII, Bk. I, page 34, 35.

³ Macdonell, Sansk. Lit., pages 197, 198.

in 1,000 chapters.¹ (*iv*) Śvetaketu, son of Uddālaka, quoted thrice in Kāmasūtra,² abridged Nandī into 500 chapters. Founder of the institution of marriage in India (Mahā, Ādi. ch. 122), he is quite different from his namesake of the Chāndogya and Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣads. (*v*) Śvetaketu in turn was condensed by Bābhavya of the Pāñcāla country into 150 chapters divided into seven sections.³ He is the first historical propounder of erotics. The Rk-prātiśākhya names as the author of the Kramapāṭha of the R̥gveda, one Bābhavya, called Pāñcāla by the commentator Uvata. Bābhavya, along with the Pāñcāla people, helped in the formation and preservation of the R̥gveda text.⁴ The only connexion between the Bābhavya Pāñcāla of the R̥gveda and that of the science of erotics rests on the analogy of the Catuṣṣaṣṭi or "the sixty-four." The R̥gveda hymns in the ten mandalas being divided into eight aṣṭakas of eight chapters each, the whole collection is known as the Catuṣṣaṣṭi. The book of erotics also was known as the "Catuṣṣaṣṭi", divided into sixty-four *saṃprayogas* or connubial varieties, claimed to be an imitation of the divisions of the R̥gveda hymns.⁵ And both the R̥gveda and the science of erotics were connected with the Pāñcāla country.⁶ Nevertheless, the same Bābhavya could not have systematized the R̥gveda as well as erotics for this would suppose that both were systematized at the same early time, a supposition extremely ill-founded as regards the latter. Systematization implies a *locus standi*. This status erotics had not yet attained when the Rk-prātiśākhya was already recognized as an object of study. This is proved by Kauṭilya's Arthasāstra (300 B.C.) Though Kāma is admitted there as one of the threefold functions of man (*trivarga*), it was not worth study as a system or science. For in the list of such

¹ Kāmasūtra, Bomb. 1891, page 4.

² Ibid, Benares, 1912 (always so, when not stated otherwise), pp. 76, 273, 353.

³ Ibid, Bomb. page 5.

⁴ Weber. Ind. Lit. Mann and Zachariae, pages 10, 34.

⁵ Kāma, pages 93, 94.

⁶ Ibid, page 40.

studies are mentioned Dharma, Artha, Itihāsa, Purāṇa and Ākhyāna but not the Kāmasūtra.¹ The second Bābhravya was probably a disciple of or of the same school as the first. Besides Kāmasūtra, he is credited with the Nyāyabhāṣya.² Anyway, his is the first historical work devoted to the science of erotics. Each of his seven sections was developed separately by the following.³ (vi) Dattaka, quoted by Jayamaṅgala⁴ in connexion with the courtesans of Pāṭaliputra, which first came into being as the capital of Magadha in the fifth century B.C. (vii) Cārāyaṇa, mentioned in Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra (Adhi. as Dirghacārāyaṇa v.v.).⁵ (viii) Ghotakamukha, also mentioned in Kauṭilya (Adhi. v.v.), fourth century B.C. (ix) Svarṇanābha, referred to as author of Rītinirṇaya by Rājaśekhara in his Kāvya-mīmāṃsā.⁶ (x) Kucumāra, according to Rājaśekhara (*ibid*, author of the Aupanīṣadika section.) (xi) Gaṇikāputra taken by Jacobi to be the same mentioned in Patañjali on Pāṇini I. v. 51 as a former grammarian. (xii) Gonardiya, supposed to be another name of Patañjali (second century B.C.). (xiii) All this mass of materials, Vātsyāyana professes to have put into a convenient system in his Kāmasūtra.⁷ His reference to Bābhravya as an *āgama* or sacred text⁸ establishes the latter's authority and comparative antiquity. Bābhravya is the main basis of Vātsyāyana. The *Sāmpṛayogika* section covering about one-fourth of his book, Vātsyāyana acknowledges to be entirely his master's.⁹ Jayamaṅgala, the commentator of Vātsyāyana, quotes from the other followers of Bābhravya.¹⁰ Bābhravya was current even in the time of Pañcasāyaka. It

¹ Kauṭilya, Arthaśāstra, Shamashastry, page 10.

² Ind. Ant., 1915, April, page 82.

³ Kāma, ch. I, pages 4-7.

⁴ *Ibid*, page 321.

⁵ Jacobi, S.B.A.W., 1911, page 959-63.

⁶ Gackwad's Oriental Series, page 1.

⁷ Kāma, pages 4-7.

⁸ *Ibid*, page 381.

⁹ *Ibid*, pages 68, 79, 94, 182, 233, 296.

¹⁰ *Ibid*, pages 87, 88, 279.

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then became lost and is still so. Thus Vātsyāyana was more popular as a compendium than for originality. Coming last, he remains the earliest authority now extant. The period of evolution from the Atharvaveda¹ to Gonardīya (eighth to second century B.C.) is obscure, but their memory, already distant, survives embodied in a code—the Kāmasūtra of Vātsyāyana.

His date.—(a) References to Vātsyāyana in later literature settle the latest point, while (b) his own, to earlier, fix the earliest. (a) Such posterior references are four: (i) Subandhu. MM. Haraprasad Śāstri places Subandhu about the beginning of the fifth century A.D.² Hoernle's view dating Vāsavadattā before 606-612 on the other hand is rightly condemned by Gray³ as against the whole evidence of Indian History. Perhaps Hall is nearest the truth in placing him about the sixth century A.D.⁴ Subandhu in his Vāsavadattā mentions Kāmasūtra of Mallanāga⁵ and Mallanāga is the same as Vātsyāyana, another of whose names is Virabhadra,⁶ borne out by his commentators Jayamaṅgala Narasiṁhabhadra. Thus the sixth century A.D. is the earliest point in the chronology of Vātsyāyana. (ii) Kālidāsa belonged to the beginning of the fifth century A.D.⁷ His acquaintance with Vātsyāyana was "very deep indeed."⁸ Canto xix. of Raghu and Kumāra vii. 77, technical agreements between Kālidāsa's *sandhaya* and Vātsyāyana's *pratisandhāna*, and close verbal similarities like those in Raghu canto xix. verse 13, serve as illustrations.⁹ The verse "*suśrūṣasva*" etc. in Śakuntalā Act iv. in comparison with Kāma page 230 make Peterson "almost certain that Kālidāsa is quoting from Vātsyāyana."¹⁰ Vātsyāyana,

¹ Lanman, Atharva, op. cit. Bk. xiv. pages 738-68.

² J.A.S.B., 1905, page 253.

³ Gray, Vāsavadattā, page 9.

⁴ Hall's Vāsavadattā, Bib. Ind. Preface, pages 6-24.

⁵ Gray, op. cit. pages 8-9.

⁶ Hall, op. cit. page 11.

⁷ Macdonell, op. cit. page 325.

⁸ J.B.O.B.S. Vol. II. pt. ii. page 155.

⁹ Jacobi, Die Epen Kālidāsa's, page 155.

¹⁰ Peterson, Jour. Anthropol. Soc. Bomb. 1891, page 465 and J.B.B.R.A.S. Vol. XVIII, page 109-10.

therefore, could not be later than the fifth century A.D. (iii) Vātsyāyana describes in detail his contemporary Ābhīras and minor Andhras, but does not make the slightest mention of the Guptas, while the context claims the account as complete. The Guptas became paramount in Northern India by the middle of the fourth century A.D.¹ Hence Vātsyāyana could not be later than the middle of the fourth century A.D. (iv) Kielhorn (Pañcatantra, page 2) and Schmidt² note two passages in Pañcatantra mentioning Vātsyāyana by name. Both agree in attributing the text to the fourth century A.D. Hence Vātsyāyana could not be later than the beginning in the fourth century A.D., his *terminus ad quem*. (b) Anterior allusions are seventeen: (i), (ii) and (iii)—Apastamb. Grh³, I. 3. 10 and I. 3. 20, and III. 88 quoted in Kāmasū, page 187-88, 188, 191 respectively; (iv) Āpastamb. Dharm. (Bühler, page 1) in Kāma. page 15; (v) Mahābhā. Ādi ch. 73-4 in Kāma. page 223; (vi) Vāsiṣṭha Dharmaśā. (Führer, page 77) ch. XXVIII. 8, in Kāma. 167; (vii) and (viii) Baudhāyana Dharmaśā.⁴ I. 15. 49, I. 2. 16 in Kāma. page 167 and page 223, respectively; (ix) Viṣṇusmṛti. (Jolly) XXIII. 49 in Kāma. page 167; (x) Mānava Dharmaśā. (Jolly) v. 130 in Kāma. page 167; (xi) Vātsyāyana uses not only some passages⁵ from Kauṭilya but his method as well.⁶ The evidence so far, therefore, make him not earlier than fourth century B.C. (xii) Kāmasūtra mentions the treatise of Gonardiya, a name of Patañjali, according to tradition. Another tradition says “*yogena cittasya dadena vācām, malaṁ sarīrasya ca vaidyakena; yo’pākarot taṁ prāvaraṁ munīnām Patañjalinṁ prāñjalivānato’ smi.*” The first two are extant—Yogadarśana and Bhāṣya, but what about the third, on medicine? The 7th Adhi. Kāma also deals with “medicine.” Was Patañjali’s book on medicine known as the treatise of

¹ Smith, Early History, 1914, page 276.

² Schmidt, Beitrage zur Indischen Erotik, 1902, pages 4, 5.

³ Winternitz, pages 4, 5, 11.

⁴ Śrīnivāsācārya, pages 57, 137.

⁵ Kauṭilya, op. cit. Eng. tran. Shamashastry, pages 11, 12.

⁶ J.B.O.R.S., 1919, page 188.

Gonardiya? ¹ Nothing incongruous in a grammarian's interest in erotics. Patañjali, on Pāṇ. I. iv. 51, describes Gapikāputra as a grammarian; Vātsyāyana records him as an erotician, and Jacobi identifies the two.² Patañjali's identity with Gonardiya, as yet hypothetical, would bring down Vātsyāyana to not earlier than the second century B.C. (xiii) Kāma. refers to Kuntala Śtakāṛṇi,³ the Andhra king.⁴ Śrī Malla Śatakāṛṇi was Khāravela's antagonist in 171 B.C.⁵ The Purāṇas place Kuntala Śatakāṛṇi 168 years later,⁶ i.e. about the beginning of the Christian era. Therefore, Vātsyāyana cannot be earlier than the first century A.D. (xiv) Vātsyāyana, pages 126, 135, 287-8 contemptuously describes the contemporary Andhras and their various vices, nowhere as sovereign powers. The Andhra empire flourished about the second to the beginning of the third century A.D.⁷ Vātsyāyana's account is intelligible only in reference to the few decadent local Andhras ruling along with the descendants of their quondam subordinates after the disruption of the empire towards the end of third century A.D.⁸ This brings the author of Kāma not earlier than the third century A.D. (xv) The family of one of these former subordinates, viz. the Ābhīras, is expressly mentioned (page 294) along with the Andhras. Ābhīra Koṭṭarāja (page 287) seems to be a ruling king. ing Īśvarasena, son of Ābhīra Śivadatta, lived in the third century A.D.⁹ Indrājis Mahākṣatrapa Īśvarasena was an Ābhīra between 236—29 A.D.¹⁰ The Ābhīra kingdom lasted from the middle of the third to

¹ Kāma. page 6.

² S.B.A.W., 1911, pages 959-63.

³ Bhandarkar (R.) Early Hist. Dekk., page 31.

⁴ Kāma. pages 147-149.

⁵ J.B.O.R.S., vol. III, pages 441, 442.

⁶ Pargiter, Kali Age, pages 38-40.

⁷ Smith, op. cit. page 423.

⁸ Pargiter, op. cit. page 45.

⁹ Nāsik Inscr. Archaeol. Survey, W. Ind. iv. page 103.

¹⁰ Rapson, Cat. Coins Andhra Dynas. p. 133ff., J.R.A.S., 1890, p. 657.

that of the fourth century A.D. when Samudragupta overturned it about 336 A.D.¹ Epigraphic and numismatic grounds² place Vātsyāyana's Ābhīras between the middle of the third to the beginning of the fourth century A.D.—not earlier than the middle of the third century A.D. (xvi) Lanman regards the Tantrākhyāyikā as the earliest edition of the Pañcatantra³ about the end of the third century A.D.⁴ It enumerates as subjects for study treatises on Dharma, Artha and Kāma⁵ but differs from the fourth century edition (see above (a) iv) in omitting Vātsyāyana's name. This is explained by the confusion amongst such treatises, before Vātsyāyana took to systematizing them,—almost *utsannakalpa*, i.e. about to be lost (page 7). Kielhorn and Schmidt's references from the later edition make it almost certain that the earlier edition refrained from specifying the author because Vātsyāyana's complete code was not before it. This would place Vātsyāyana not earlier than the end of the third century A.D. (xvii) Lalitavistara, about 300 A.D.,⁶ apparently knows only parts of Kāmasūtra, but not the whole system.⁷ Therefore not earlier than the end of the third century A.D. is Vātsyāyana's *terminus a quo*. Putting together (a) and (b) Vātsyāyana's date is approximately the end of the third century A.D.

Bhāsa and Vatsyayana.

(a) Vātsyāyana, unknown to Bhāsa: (i) In Pratimā, Act V, page 79, Rāvaṇa, disguised as a Brāhmaṇa, sets forth the different Śāstras he has studied. Amongst others, he enumerates two of the well-known trio — Dharmasāstra of Manu and Arthasāstra of Bṛhaspati. Dharma, Artha and Kāma were regarded as *trivarga* for all including a Brāhmaṇa.⁸ The

¹ Fleet, Gupta Inscr. page 8.

² J.B.O.E.S. vol. v. pt. II.

³ Hertel, Das Pañcatantra, 1914, page 9.

⁴ Lanman, H.O.S. vol. XIV, page x.

⁵ Hertel, H.O.S. vol. XIV, page 1.

⁶ Winternitz, Geschichte d. Ind. Lit. Band. II, page 199.

⁷ Lanman, Lalitavistara, page 156.

⁸ Kaṇṭilya, op. cit. xv. 1.

omission of the third in such a context is significant and points to the non-existence of Vātsyāyana's Kāmasūtra in Bhāsa's time.

(ii) Of the thirteen plays, only four, viz. Cāru, Avimār, Pratijñā, and Svapna, deal with a loveplot. In the West, church-going helps in love-intrigue. So it is from Boccaccio's *Fiametta* to Goethe's *Gretchen*. Likewise in the East, only less so. Here there is a distinct difference of opinion between Bābhavya and Vātsyāyana. The former mentions as opportunities for love-making — (1) going to a temple; (2) walking; (3) playing in the garden; (4) sporting in water; (5) marriage; (6) a ceremony, mishap or festival; (7) catastrophe due to fire; (8) disturbance by burglary and (9) driving to a spectacle. The latter prefers, as easier, getting into a heroine's house, with means of egress and ingress.¹ Bhāsa closely follows Bābhavya. Cāru. (Act II, page 34, line 10 and Act I, page 10, line 14) exemplifies (1) and (2): Avimār (Act I, page 5, line 9; Act II, page 18, line 14 and Act III, page 42, line 11); (3), (7) and (8): Pratijñā (Act IV, page 102, lines 3-4); (4): Svapna (Act I, page 34, line 9) (7). This affinity between Bābhavya's precept and Bhāsa's practice extends to the language used by both. Vātsyāyana's advice on the other hand is not original but based on others.² It is followed in Avimār,³ but only under a strong protest from Vidūṣaka. The confident assertion in Kāmasūtra would be unintelligible if its author had not Avimāraka's experience before him. That he knew of it, he admits in page 271. Thus, while Bhāsa knew only the predecessor of Vātsyāyana, the latter refers to one of Bhāsa's works as of established repute.

(iii) A comparison between the two shows Bhāsa considerably earlier in spirit. To take only one instance — the occasion and manner of wooing a girl for the first time. Bhāsa deals with it in Avimār. Act III, page 42-52, and Vātsyāyana in Kāma. chapter III, page 200—5.⁴ Kālidāsa, under the influence of

¹ Schmidt, *Das Kāmasūtram*, 1897, v. § 4, page 353 and Kāma page 274-5.

² Kāma, page 203 and Schmidt, *op. cit.* pp. 230-1.

³ Avimār. 30, page 30 b. 13.

⁴ Schmidt, *op. cit.* IV. Sec. 3, pp. 256-64.

Vātsyāyana expatiates on the preliminaries, e.g. Duṣyanta's manoeuvre in blowing the dust off Śakuntalā's eyes, etc. (Śakuntalā Act III): Avimāraka sets about with a naïveté almost epic in its simplicity. "Nalinika!" says the nurse to the maid, "the bed is ready inside, make the bride and bridegroom enter there." (Avimār. Act III, page 52). Was it this, a heroine's insensibility to convention, that scandalised Vātsyāyana when he despondingly avers his belief to the contrary as on simple *prāyovāda*, or hearsay evidence? At any rate Bhāsa completely ignores Vātsyāyana. (b) Far more interesting as determining Bhāsa's priority to Vātsyāyana is the latter's allusion to the former.¹ He refers to the stories of Ahalyā, Śakuntalā and Avimāraka. The context implies their popularity during Vātsyāyana's time. Aśvaghōṣa corroborates this as regards Ahalyā (Buddhaca. IV. 72) and Śakuntalā (Buddhaca. IV. 20). These two retained their fame in Kālidāsa's age and later on. Not so Avimāraka; its beginning and end are both subject to controversy. As Max Lindennau² points out the two epics, Mahābhārata and Rāmāyaṇa, have supplied plots for most of Bhāsa's plays but Avimāraka is an exception. Śakuntalā and Ahalyā are indebted to Mahābhārata and Rāmāyaṇa respectively, but Avimāraka is Bhāsa's own creation perhaps adapted from Harivaṃśa. It became obsolete with a loss of Bhāsa's works. Hence Vātsyāyana was evidently referring to Bhāsa. Now, Vātsyāyana has been shown above to belong to the end of the third century A.D. Bhāsa, therefore, cannot be later than the end of the third century A.D.

2.—Bharata.

His sources.—(I) In order to improve contemporary manners and merriment, Brahmā wanted to create something for the happiness of all—the higher castes as well as the Śūdras. Ṛgveda gave him dialogue, Sāma song, Yajur acting and Atharva *rasa* or aesthetic pleasure. Thus arose the drama.³ This statement of Bharata is of interest as an

¹ Kāma, page 271, and Schmidt, op. cit. page 348.

² Lindennau, Bhāsa Studien, page 18.

³ Bharata, Nāṭyaśāstra, Kāvya-mālā, 42, p. 2 xvi—iii.

ancient tradition. The earliest forms of dramatic literature in India are represented by those hymns of the Rgveda which contain dialogues.¹ Technically known as *samvādas*, they are the basis of the *ākhyāna* theory of Windisch and Oldenberg² and the *itihāsa* theory of Pischel and Geldner. Max Müller³ sees in them a beginning of Indian drama. Lévi⁴ finds it impossible not to regard them as "dramatic spectacles" and urges the possibility of a very early Indian drama.⁵ As an instance of this early dramatic tendency Schroeder cites Rgveda vii. 102 and ix. 112. Ridgeway⁶ admits in this an assumption of dramatic ritual. Such ritual drama existed, according to Winternitz, but was of little importance. The Rgveda reveals just a crude awakening of the dramatic sense, and Keith⁷ rightly differentiates ritual dialogue from dramatic ritual. The hymns above are more ritual or liturgical than dramatic or mimetic. The latter suggests acted drama "the origin of which is wrapt in obscurity."⁸ Its earliest instance, according to tradition, is Bharata's Lakṣmīsvayambara connected with the Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa cult.⁹ The origin is still a matter for controversy. Pischel's Puppet-plays¹⁰ and shadow-plays¹¹ have added to the prevailing darkness. The first vague light begins with the names of acted drama like Jarjara, Amṛtamathana and Tripuradāha. (ii) Suggestions for improvement introduced dancing.¹² This attempt at improvement is dramaturgy in embryo. (iii) Starting as religious, the drama rapidly developed into the *samavakāra* and the supernatural

¹ Macdonell, op. cit. p. 346.

² Z.D.M.G. 1886.

³ Max Müller, Rgveda, Vol. I, 1. p. 173.

⁴ Lévi, Le Théâtre Indien, 1890, p. 307.

⁵ Horowitz, Ind. Theat. pages 23, 24.

⁶ Ridgeway, The Dramas and Dramatic Dances of Non-European Races p. 156.

⁷ J.R.A.S., 1911, p. 976 ff.

⁸ Macdonell, op. cit. p. 346.

⁹ Ibid, p. 347.

¹⁰ The Home of the Puppet-plays, trans. Tawney, 1902.

¹¹ Das altindische Schattenspiel, pp. 4ff.)

¹² Bharata, op. cit. ch. IV, pp. 42, 242, śl. 12 and 29.

Dima. The Vajasaneyī Samhitā (XXX) is the first direct evidence ¹ to the history of the dramatic art. (iv) Kolāhala or Kohela was one of the earliest to resolve it into a system. Nāṭ XXXVII, 18, p. 445. (v) He was followed by Vyāsa, Śaṇḍilya and Dhūrtita (Nāṭ. XXXVII, 24. p. 446.) Thus far, were produced works, more or less original, leading to the foundation of different schools, or *siddhāntas*. (vi) Their greatest successor was Bharata the dramaturgist *par excellence*, the original basis of the extant version. From now, was felt the need for systematization and began the task of standardization (vii) Śilālī (Pāṇ. IV. iii. 110) and Kṛśāśva (Pāṇ. IV. iii. 111) are the first Sūtrakāras mentioned by Pāṇini. They were *Bharatas*, traced—if not to the honoured name in the Ṛgveda and the Mahābhārata—to the sage Bharata, father of Lassen's ³ rhapsodists and comediens. (viii) Kautilya's Kuśīlavas carried the line further and lower. Before him, though meant for the enjoyment of all, the actual acting was restricted to Brāhmaṇas.⁴ Henceforth the Śūdras, the ill-bred ⁵ Kuśīlavas and Śailūṣas took to it. Lévi is puzzled about their formation; it would be more reasonable to go to Dravidian sources. "Śaila never means manner, but always stone."⁶ He is unduly literal. Śaila-bheda is a technical term in Suśruta⁷ given in Sanskrit-English Dictionary of Monier-Williams, p. 1090—*colerus Scutellaroides* (Lewis and Short, Lat. Dict., 1880, pp. 487 and 1650.) Śailūṣa in this way explains Kuśīlava, both perhaps bearing about them tokens of the occasion of their name even though the derivation be not clear. Likewise Gypsies in German are "zigeuner" though to resolve it into "ziehgauner"

¹ Lévi, op. cit., p. 308.

² J.A.S.B., 1909, p. 358.

³ Schlegel-Lassen, Bhagavadgītā, Index, s. v. Bharata.

⁴ J.B.A.S., 1913, p.

⁵ Weber, Ind. Lit., p. 214, cf. Petersburg Dictionary.

⁶ Lévi op. cit. p. 313.

⁷ Suśruta, ch. VIII, Ed. N. M. Gupta Vol. I., 1834, p. 53. Eng. trans. K. L. Bhīṣagraṭna, 1911, Vol. II, p. 333.

is dubious.¹ That the Kuṣīlavas were Śūdra actors is clear from Arthaśāstra. (ix) Aśoka's patronage² completed this vulgarization. (x) It is thus easier to understand why Manu looked with disfavour upon the influence of the stage on the people and inveighed against the profession of actors.³ He places a stage player and a Niṣāda or Śūdra side by side.⁴ (xi) A short revival followed with the Śūdra actors, if not actually replaced, at least explained away. They were Brāhmaṇas turned into Śūdras (Nāṭyaśāstra, chapter I.) As a further stimulus to the stage all the works of Kōhela, Vātsyā, Śāṇḍilya, Dhūrtita and the great Bharata, each evidently a Sūtrakāra, were compiled into a complete system,⁵ the Nāṭyaśāstra of to-day. The compiler adopted the name of Bharata to emphasize his indebtedness to the original Bharata, his main basis. This identity of names has led to an unnecessary confusion of persons. But the plural Bharatānām, Nāṭ, chapter XXXVII. 24, page 446, distinctly implies the generic character of the name and helps to differentiate the earlier Bharata from his codifier of the current Nāṭyaśāstra.

His Date.—The theatre, as an institution, is very old in India. Its connexion with the epics has been shown by Lévi.⁶ Macdonell's⁷ surmise that "there were no special theatres in the Indian Middle Ages, and plays seem to have been performed in the *Saṅgītaśālā* of royal palaces" ignores the tradition retained in the Nāṭyaśāstra,⁸ envisaging the detailed construction of three separate classes of *prekṣa-grha* or theatres.—(1) for gods, i.e. in the temple; (2) for princes and noblemen, apparently in their concert rooms and (3) for the *prakṛti*, i.e. the public. But dramas precede dramaturgy, and Indian dramaturgy began

¹ Trench, Study of Words, 1895, p. 238.

² Bloch, Archæol. Annual, Vol. 2.

³ Manu, III. 155, VIII. 65, Bühler, S.B.E., XXV. pages 104, 266.

⁴ Ibid, IV. 214, Bühler op. cit. p. 163.

⁵ J.A.S.B., 1909, p. 359.

⁶ Lévi, op. cit., pp. 309—312.

⁷ Macdonell, op. cit., p. 352.

⁸ Bhārata, op. cit., ch. II. 12, p. 9.

before Pāṇini (fourth century B.C.). The origin of the theatre naturally goes much earlier. (i) But Bharata (from now meaning always the current Nāṭyaśāstra) cannot be earlier than Pāṇini who quotes only Śilāli and Kṛśāśva (Pāṇ. IV. iii. 10 and IV. iii. 11) in the fourth century B.C. (ii) In Kautilya's Arthaśāstra, the Kuśilavas are Śūdras, in Bharata the principal interlocutor is the principal actor and he is a Brāhmaṇa. The Śūdras had got in under Buddhist influence and were ousted with a Brāhmaṇa revival. The status of the actor in Kautilya and Bharata proves the latter not earlier than the fourth century B.C. (iii) This is confirmed by the stage discovered by Colonel Ouseley in the Ramgaḍh hills in Sirguja. Bloch¹ reads *lūpadakhe*² in the inscription as pertaining to acting. The characters in the inscription are of the third-second century B.C. The Prakṛts used and the marked influence of the Aśokan ideal make it almost inconceivable that only Brāhmaṇas and not Śūdras were allowed to act. Therefore Bharata's Brāhmaṇa actors could not be earlier than the third-second century B.C. (iv) Patañjali gives minute details about actors, their declamations and songs (on Pāṇ. I. IV. 29), but he does not mention Bharata. His description of the Śaubbhikas (Śobhika of Kielhorn and Weber's Śobhanika), the depravity of the actors and their vile social position, is quite different from Bharata's. The latter could not be earlier than the second-first century B.C. (v) Bharata mentions the Śakas, Yavanas and the Parthians. The last are called Pahlavas (written Pahravas). Indian Pahlava and Iranian Pahlav are corruptions of Parthava,³ i.e. the Parthians.⁴ According to Sallet⁵ the Iranian *th* was changed to *h* in Meherdates in Tacitus and Miir, i.e. Mihira on the coins of Kaniška or Kanerki. Nöldeke holds that the word Pahlava could not have originated in India before the second century A.D.

¹ Bloch, op. cit.

² Jayaswal's reading of the Jōgīmārā inser. in Ind. Ant., July, 1919, p. 131, necessitates a revision of Bloch's view.

³ Nöldeke, Z.D.M.G., vol. XXXI. p. 557.

⁴ Weber, Ind. Lit. pp. 187, 188, n. 201 a.

⁵ Die Nachfolger Alexanders des Gr. p. 197.

Inscriptional evidence, however, makes Bühler¹ conclude that the word Pahlava was used in India at the beginning of the first century A.D. Thus Bharata could not be earlier than that. (vi) Manu in the second century A.D. (see below) presumably reflects contemporary opinion in hedging in the actors with legal and social disqualifications (Manu III. 155, IV. 215 and IV. 214). The picture of Bharata composing their panegyrics in another corner is refreshing but strains too much one's notion of the probable. Moreover, in Nāṭ. chapter XXII. 161 page 253 he attempts a pun on Manusmṛti, meaning perhaps the Dharmaśāstra of Manu. Thus he must be later than the second century A.D. (vii) On the other hand, Kālidāsa (fifth century A.D.) refers to him in Vikramorvaśī as the authority of playwrights. Hence he could not be later than the fourth century A.D., as tradition in Kālidāsa's time already clothes him with antiquity. (viii) Some passages in the Kāmasūtra (c. end of the third century A.D.) make it highly probable that Vātsyāyana knew Bharata. Nāṭ. chapter XXIII. 15, page 266, occur with slight variations in Kāmasūtra,² chapter V. sections 6, 29, page 293. Bharata implies it as his own, whereas Vātsyāyana says expressly that the "*śloka*s" are quoted. It is similar to Bāḥiravya's³ (Kāma, page 274) but his is not a *śloka* and is always supported by his name. Bharata, again, everywhere refers to Kāmatantra generally (Nāṭ. chapter XXIII. pages 265-271, verses 36, 50, 58, 61 and 73) in contexts which could not possibly ignore Vātsyāyana if existent. Hence Bharata must be earlier than the Kāmasūtra. Later than the second century and earlier than the end of the third century, Bharata lived, therefore, about the middle of the third century A.D.

Bhāsa and Bharata.

Violations of Bharata are too common in Bhāsa. (i) Nāṭ. V. 154 page 58 enjoins the naming of the author—Bhāsa never follows it. (ii) According to Nāṭ. ch. XVIII. 126-30, page 202,

¹ Bühler, op. cit., p. cxvi.

² Schmidt, op. cit., V. Sec. 6, pages 376, 377.

³ Ibid. Sec. 4, page 353.

Pratijñā is an *Ihāmrga* with four acts and a battle in connexion with women. But Bhāsa's colophon claims it as a *Nāṭikā*. (iii) *Urubhaṅga* may be an *Utsriṣṭakāṅka*. But Bharata's direction about the "abundance of female mourning" is wanting.¹ (iv) Bharata prohibits sleeping² on the stage. Bhāsa's *Svapna* is practically founded on a negation of this. (*Svapna* Act V, 1913, page 107). (v) *Nāt.* ch. XVII. *ibid.* page 185, restricts the use of *āryaputra* to a wife to her husband. Kālidāsa always follows it. But in *Svapna* the chamberlain of Vāsavadattā's father applies it to King Udayana and in *Bālarita*, Ugrasena's servant to Vasudeva, as an expression of respect for Vāsavadattā and Devakī respectively. (vi) Bharata lays down that "no battle, abdication or invasion to be shown on the stage" (*Nāt.* page 193). Bhāsa describes an actual fight in *Bālarita*, Act V, page 63. (vii) Bharata has a precept against the prodigality of tears and sighs as an expression of one's grief.³ Acting by means of speech he places superior to that by physical manifestation. (*Nāt.* ch. XXII. pages 1—8 and 241). Voltaire says the same: "It is not necessary to proclaim that I cry—one ought to judge by your words that your heart is broken."⁴ Otherwise this profusion leads to ominous possibilities, witness Bhavabhūti's *Uttara-carita*.⁵ Here the hero is constantly overflowing with tears in the short intervals at his disposal between one swoon and another. A touching sight forsooth, but not quite in keeping with orthodox dramaturgy, cf. Bharata, ch. VII. 14, page 42. Kālidāsa and Śūdraka⁶ are comparatively free from it. Bharata's rule presupposes such a tendency in his predecessors. In the absence of others one may fall back on Bhāsa. Naturally it is not difficult to detect. For extravagance with Bhāsa is not the rule but an exception and all

¹ Bharata, *op. cit.* p. 203.

² Maedonell, *op. cit.* p. 348.

³ Regnaud, *La Rhétorique Sanskrite*, 1834, pages 223-4.

⁴ Voltaire, *Remarques sur Bérénice*.

⁵ *Uttaracarita*, Act III.

⁶ *Śakuntalā* Act IV, *Mṛcchakaṭika* Act X.

exceptions are obtrusive. The second act of Pratiṃā offers a striking illustration. "I am taking an unconscionably long time in dying" said Charles II to his death-bed attendants. Daśaratha goes one better : his energetic lamentations make one almost forget that he is to die at all. Bharata and Voltaire had reasons for asking people to keep to the point even in dying. (viii) But he dies at last, or rather swoons as a preliminary. And in this, beyond doubt, he is guilty of an impropriety. He ought not to have done it on the stage. Even more irregular is Vali's passing away (Abhiṣ, Act II) with everyone looking on. Says Bharata, "no death allowed on the stage," Nāṭ ch. XVIII. page 193.¹ These instances suffice to show Bhāsa's ignorance of the current Nāṭyaśāstra. He was following some of Bharata's predecessors specified above. He is reported to have prepared a compendium himself.² At any rate, he is anterior to Bharata and, therefore, could not be later than the middle of the third century A.D.

3.—Kauṭilya.

His sources.—Hillebrandt³ (cp. Jolly⁴) is agreed that the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya published by Shamashastry in *Indian Antiquary* 1909 and 1910 is rightly ascribed to the well-known minister of Candragupta. He is also called Cāṇakya and Viṣṇugupta.⁵ Sthavirāvalīcarita of Hemacandra⁶ confirms this. Their identity is established by Nandisūtra, Cal. Ed. pages 333 and 391. Daṇḍin in his Daśakumāracarita, pt II. ch. 8 and Kāmandaka in his Nitisāra prove Cāṇakya's authorship of the Arthaśāstra, as corroborated by Pañcatantra. ch I, Somadeva's Nīṭivākyāmṛta, Ṛṣimaṇḍala-prakaraṇavṛtti, the commentary Samantapasādikā on Vinayapīṭaka, Mahānāmasthavira's Mahāvaiśatika and, lastly, the plot of Mudrārākṣasa. It is needless to dwell on the various sources of Kauṭilya, ranging from the

¹ Macdonell, op. cit. p. 348.

² Lévi, op. cit. page 160.

³ Hillebrandt, Über das Kauṭilyaśāstra und Verwandtes, 1908.

⁴ Jolly, Ein altindische Lehrbuch der Politik, 1911.

⁵ Viṣṇupurāṇa, Eng. trans. Wilson ch. XXIV. Bk. IV, page 186, cp. Bhāgav, Vāyu and Agni.

⁶ Jacobi, Bib. Ind.

erude precepts in the Mahābhārata (ch. XII 87; 3-11a) to more systematized works. Kauṭilya not only mentions numerous such authors on Artha¹ but innumerable commentaries thereon, Bk. XV ch. I.² A convenient collection of this as a background for his imperialistic picture, he alleges as his *motif*. But amongst his sources, he states not works on Artha or pure polity alone, but on Dharma as well, the latter including the former as a subsidiary topic.³ This, along with his non-controversial attitude, suggests that Arthasāstra before Kauṭilya had not yet acquired for itself the status of an independent school or branch of learning. In fact, Kauṭilya, as Jacobi⁴ remarks, was the recognized founder of the school afterwards based on his Arthasāstra.

His Date.—Kauṭilya's, if genuine, is one of the landmarks in the early chronology of India. 300 B.C. may be accepted as provisionally settled.⁵ Keith⁶ suggests c. 100 B.C. for the extant version. The Arthasāstra preserves an authoritative account of political and social conditions in the Gangetic plain in the age of Alexander the Great, 325 B.C.⁷ In spirit, it is sharply distinguished from subsequent Dharmaśāstras. They set forth the Brāhmaṇa ideal—it discards all ideals save the realization of an India-wide empire. Jolly's⁸ careful comparative study has demonstrated the indebtedness of all later law-codes, beginning with Manu to Kauṭilya. But his date is of interest as helping to fix the earliest limit of Bhāsa.

Kauṭilya and Bhāsa.

Kauṭilya's priority is beyond all reasonable doubt. (i) Kauṭilya ruthlessly exposes the immoral practices of Kings and Brāhmaṇa ministers in the fourth century B.C.⁹ To Bhāsa, a Brāhmaṇa is the embodiment of every virtue

¹ Kauṭilya, op. cit. Bk. XV. ch. I, Ind. Ant. 1910, page 175.

² Ind. Ant., 1910, page 177.

³ Law (N), Studies in Ancient Hindu Polity, 1914, Vol. I. page 25.

⁴ Jacobi, S.B.A.W., 1912, page 832-849.

⁵ Ind. Ant., 1905, page 5.

⁶ Keith, J.R.A.S., 1910, page 137.

⁷ Smith, op. cit. page 137.

⁸ Jolly, Arthasāstra und Dharmaśāstra, Z.D.M.G., page 49-95.

⁹ Smith, op. cit. page 144.

and deserving of all privileges (Pañca, Act I, page 7, Act II, page 83, Karna, page 84, etc.), "worthy of the highest veneration" (Madhyamavyā, page 17). This divergence of view is explained by history. Kauṭilya has in mind the Nandas who swept away all the old Kṣatriya dynasties reigning from the time of the great battle.¹ "So bad succeeds but worse remains behind." For the last legitimate Nanda was murdered by his queen and her barber paramour, the latter seizing the throne. Their issue was Mahāpadmananda, avaricious and profligate.² The Bhaviṣya and Viṣṇu Purāṇas indicate expressly that from him will start Kings "like Śūdras, devoid of morality."³ His bonhomie towards the degenerate Brāhmaṇas of his day was attempted on Cānakya. This drove the latter to Candragupta's camp and, according to the Purāṇas, achieved Mahapadma's ruin.⁴ Whereas Bhāsa witnesses the overthrow of Buddhism and a Brāhmaṇa revival led by the Andhras. But evidently he has not yet forgotten the dark days from before Kauṭilya downwards. For though a staunch defender of Brāhmaṇism, he boldly reminds them that "neither appearance nor caste makes the real difference between the high and the low, it is conduct that sets the stamp." (Pañca, Act II. 74.) There is thus a big interval between Kauṭilya's Brāhmaṇa and Bhāsa's, which, however exaggerated, must have had a substratum of plausibility. (ii) Most Sanskrit dramas furnish practically no technical information about current polity and Bhāsa is no exception. But there is absolutely nothing to show that Kauṭilya knew him even as a poet. Arthaśāstra Adhi. X. ch. 3 has a verse "navam śarāvam," etc., exhorting soldiers to fight for their master. The same occurs in Pratijñā, Act IV. page 110. Kauṭilya's manner suggests his to be a quotation⁵, Bhāsa is less decisive. But both appeal to it as of some weight. The most reasonable explanation is that both were quoting from an anterior source. (iii) But there is proof that Bhāsa knew Kauṭilya. In

¹ Pargiter, op. cit. page 25.

² Smith, op. cit. page 117.

³ Pargiter, op. cit. page 25.

⁴ Viśakhadatta, Mudrārākṣasa.

⁵ Gaṇapati, Intro. Pratijñā, page 4.

Pratimā Act V. page 79, along with other Śāstras worth a Brāhmaṇa's study is mentioned the Arthaśāstra of Bṛhaspati. Bṛhaspati is the traditional preceptor of polity. Every author fathered his book on him. The current Arthaśāstra followed suit. Vātsyāyana so late as the end of the third century A.D. and therefore aware of Kauṭilya, refers perhaps to the latter's book but styles it the Arthaśāstra of Bṛhaspati¹ which has not been in existence since Kauṭilya's time. Kauṭilya's references, pages 6, 29, 63, 177, 192 and 375 of second edition do not occur in the latter's extant fragments.² Kauṭilya himself traces his work to "the Manavas, Auśanasas, Pārāśaras and Bārhaspatyas."³ The first three are mainly Dharmaśāstras. Only the last is Arthaśāstra proper. Hence, Bhāsa too was presumably alluding to Kauṭilya's book under the customary designation of Bṛhaspati. (iv) This is further borne out by Pratijñā, Act IV. page 122. The minister Bharatarohaka says to his captive Yaugandharāyana "You have studied the science of polity. What does it (i.e. the Śāstra) prescribe for foes vanquished in a fight." "Death" is the response. There is one well-known Śāstra on polity that ordains the same and that is the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya. Bhāsa must have come long after Kauṭilya, to judge by the way he looks upon the latter as an authority. Therefore, he could not be earlier than the fourth century B.C.

4.—Pāṇini, Kātyāyana, and Patanjali.

Their sources—After Goldstücker's⁴ illuminating appreciation of Böhtlingk's Pāṇinean activities, a detailed examination of sources is unnecessary. An admirable account, however, occurs in Liebich's⁵ new book on Kātantra. In the cases of Vātsyāyana and Bharata, the claim of Bhāsa's priority to each rendered such an examination essential; because ultimately their sources were Bhāsa's own as well. Whereas Bhāsa's being pre-Pāṇinean cannot (as shown below) be taken seriously. Nor is any inves-

¹ Kāma, page 4.

² Thomas, Bārhaspatya Arthaśāstra, 1921, page 8.

³ Law, op. cit. pages 23, 24.

⁴ Goldstücker, Pāṇini, His place in Sanskrit Literature, pp. 87-89.

⁵ Liebich, Das Kātantra, 1921.

tigation into his exact time of immediate use. For almost all scholars are practically agreed as to the age of the above three, approximately, and even an approximate date would be sufficient for the purposes of the present discussion. The following dates are assumed as provisionally correct: (a) Pāṇini—fourth century B.C.¹; (b) Kātyāyana—third century B.C.²; (c) Patañjali—150 to 40 B.C.³

Pāṇini and Bhāsa.

Bhāsa's so-called "anomalies" detected so far are 25:

- (1) *gṛhya* Dūtagh. p. 59—*lyap* (?) i.e. supposed to be irregular;
- (2) *mā cintiya*, *māmā anaiṇā* Svapna, pp. 160 and 32, 24, *mā nīhbandhia*. Avim. p. 37—*mā* with *ktvā* (?) ;
- (3) *mā pavīṣidum* etc. Svapna, pp. 59 and 69. Bāla. 48, 50 and Pratijñā, 45—*mā* with *tumun* (?)
- (4) *Ṛgāhya ulkāṇ* Bāla, p. 22—want of *sandhi* in verse-half (?) ;
- (5) *Ṭardhate*, Pratijñā, p. 3—*ātmane* (?) ;
- (6) *rudantīm*, Dūtavā, p. 28—*num* (?) ;
- (7) *javāpuspamiva raktalvacanāḥ*. Pratijñā, p. 56—*sāpekṣatva* compound (?) ;
- (8) *chidyate* and *ruhgate*, Svapna. p. 69—*ātmane* (?) ;
- (9) *gamisye*, Bāla. p. 67.—*ātmane* (?) ;
- (10) *rusyate*, Panca, p. 37—*ātmane* (?) ;
- (11) *slisyate*, Svapna, p. 4—*ātmane* (?) ;
- (12) *drakṣyate*, Pratijñā, p. 16—*ātmane* (?) ;
- (13) *vījanti*, *vījantak* and *samāśvāsītum*, Abhiṣ, pp. 26, 68—*nicelision* (?) ;
- (14) *utkaṇṭhisyati*, Svapna, p. 16 and *pariṣvajati*, Avim. p. 49—*parasmai* (?)
- (15) *pariṣvaja*, Avim. p. 94, *pariṣvajāmi* Bāla. p. 25 and *upalapsyati* Dūtagh. p. 54—*parasmai* (?) ;

¹ Phandarkar (R), Early Hist. Dekk, 2nd Ed. Bomb. Gaz. 1896, vol. i, pt. i; Goldstücker, op. cit. pp. 228-238; Ind. Ant., i. ii, xx, xvi. cf. Winternitz, Wackerungel and Lévi J. A., 1890.

² Kielhorn, Kātyāyana and Patañjali, Bomb. 1870, pp. 2-5.

³ Weber, Ind. Lit., 1882, p. 224n.

(16) *unnāmaya*, Pratim. pp. 63 and 110—*ḍirgha* against Pāṇ VI. iv. 12 (?) ;

(17) *me sāpitah*, Pratim. p. 69—*me* at the beginning of the sentence (?) ;

(18) *svastibhavate svapatnīkāya*, Avim. p. 108—against Pāṇ VI. iii. 83 ;

(19) *vyudhorāḥ*, Madhya, p. 12—against Pāṇ. V iv. 151 ;

(20) *pratyāyati* Abhiṣ page *parasmai* (?) ;

(21) *avantyādhipateḥ*, Svapna, page 45—*ā* (?) ;

(22) *prcchase*, Pañca. page 38—*ātmane* (?)

(23) *te hṛdayam*, Abhiṣ page 73,—long at the end of foot in *sārdūlavikrīḍita* (?) ;

(24) *yadi + cet* Pratijñā, page 70 and *cet + yadi* Avim, page 60, both together (?) ;

(25) *yadi dātavyā*, Pañca. page 14, *yadi* with 7th case(?).

A closer scrutiny renders the list more innocuous. (25) and (24) may be dismissed at once as a choice of diction and no violence against Pāṇini whatever. (23) is a matter of prosody and quite allowable. Both Piṅgala and Śrutabodha describe the ending as short but Bhartṛhari uses a long nevertheless, Nīṭīśataka, 47. And it does not concern Pāṇini. (22) *prasmai* is proper in the sense of “desire for knowledge”. Bhaṭṭoji on Pāṇini, Nirṇaya—sāg. Ed. 1890, page 393. Tattvabodhini explains it as “a simple inquiry”, ibid, page 393. But Abhimanyu takes it as a “slight.” Bhāsa evidently distinguishes between the two meanings, for in the first he uses the *parasmai* elsewhere, Pañca. Act III. p. 108. (21) *ā* is due not to *avantī + adhipati* but *avantyā + adhipati*, the third case—ending to signify ownership, as in *gavā svāmī*, *bhurā svāmī*, etc. (20) *Ṭaya* is *ātmane*, according to Pāṇini III. i. 37. But it is entirely optional by the *jñāpka* of Pāṇ. II. iv. 54. Māgha uses *udayati* not *udayate*, similarly *pratyāyati*. (19) Pāṇini V. iv. 151 is valid only with words in singular. With duals and plurals it is optional, Bhaṭṭoji on Pāṇ. IV. iv. 151. Here *urus* may be dual, hence justified. (18) differen-

tiates between a blessing (*āśīh*) and a prayer (*prārthanā*), and the *sa* instead of *suha* is correct in the latter sense. The familiar parallels *sapntrasya*, etc. are quoted in *Tattvabodhinī* on *Siddhāntakaumudī* on Pāṇini VI. iii. 83, Kielhorn: *Mahābhāṣ.* Bomb. 3 vols. 1892; vol. II. I p. 171 and *Siddhāntak.* *Nirṇayasāg.* 1899 p. 198. (17) is not the pronominal form, but an indeclinable, reflecting the *suranta* form. (16) it would be short if in accordance with Pān. vi. iv. 12 (Kielhorn, op. cit. vol. III. p. 182) but it is long because of *nic* meaning *tatkaroti*. (15) and (14) are allowed by Pāṇini, by the *jñāpaka* of II. iv. 54. (13) the first two have *krip* sanctioned by Pāṇini to *vīja* ending in *Pacadvac*, the third is better read as *samāśvāsane* according to four MSS. (12) agrees with Pāṇini as *Karmakartari* forms; *dadṛśe*, *śṇṇṣva* and *nandate* are used by Caṇḍi. (11) and (10) and (9) are instances of *Karmavāibhāra*. The completion of the sense of the verb implies an object. (8) The first is used *karmaṇi*; so also the second which becomes transitive by virtue of inherent causation. (7) exemplifies the extremely common and allowed compound, "where the meaning is clear" (*gamakatve*) in spite of interdependence (*sāpekṣatva*). (6) justifiable because *Vrud* is used as *tudādi* also. (5) *Forḍh* is *parasmai*, Pān. VII. ii. 59, but used as *Karmavāibhāra*, as in Kalidāsa *Śakuntalā*, Act I. (4) is a doubtful point of prosody, irrelevant to Pāṇini proper. (3) is irregular, Pāṇini not allowing *tumun* with *mā* prohibitive. (2) nor *kvā* as interpreted by the specific mention of *alam* and *khalu*, Pān. III. iv. 18. (1) goes against Pān. VII. i. 37 (Kielhorn, op. cit. vol. III. pp. 256—59). Thus only three remain as real anomalies. And on the strength of these three solitary cases out of 13 dramas, 8vo. 769 pages, Gaṇapati (*Pratimā*, Intro. p. lxxv) pretends Bhāsa's priority to Pāṇini. One can only add that fatuity could no further go.

Kātyāyana and Bhāsa.

Kātyāyana's *Vārttika* is "not a commentary which explains but an animadversion which completes." ¹ Bhāsa's acquaintance

¹ Kielhorn, op. cit. p. 2.

with him can be tested by the dramatist's consciousness of Pāṇinian limitations and agreement with Kātyāyana's emendations. The latter do not exist in MS. but retained, according to tradition and incidental remarks of Patañjali in the Mahābhāṣya.¹ Two instances may be called in evidence. (i) Pāṇini rules *Vpraccha* as *parasmai*.² Kātyāyana prescribes *ātmane* when preceded by *ā* and *nu*. (Vārttika, I. iii, 21.) Patañjali modifies both and restricts *ātmane* to *praccha* after *ā* and *nu*, only in the sense of respectful question to a superior. Bhāsa follows all three: *prcchāmi* Pañca. Act III. p. 108 as Pāṇini: *āprcche* Pratimā, Act III. p. 48 as Kātyāyana: *āprcchāmi* as contemplated by Patañjali in his *upasaṁkhyāna*. (ii) Pāṇini ordains *ac* after *rājan ahaḥ* and *sakhi* in *Tatpuruṣa*, V. iv. 9. Kātyāyana makes the rule optional.³ Vārttika "bhasyādhe" etc. would otherwise form the feminine as *Kāśīrājī*. Patañjali is of the same opinion as Kātyāyana. The feminine *kāśīrājī* suggests Pāṇini V. iv. 9 as optional and Bhāsa takes advantage of it in *Avi*. p. 110 and *Dūtavā*, p. 32.

Patañjali and Bhāsa.

The above establishes Bhāsa's intimate knowledge of Pāṇini, Kātyāyana and Patañjali. The last, as already shown, explains the divergence between Pāṇini, Kātyāyana and Bhāsa. For he criticizes both Pāṇini and Kātyāyana.⁴ The red thread which runs through the Mahābhāṣya is the polemic against the Vārttikakāra⁵ and by implication on Pāṇini. Hence Bhāsa's sin against Pāṇini is obedience to Patañjali (*Dūtagh*, p. 32). As special points of following Patañjali may be mentioned Bhāsa's preference for the neuter *kta* instead of *lyuṭ* and the use of words ending in the suffix *gat* as attributives disagreeing in gender with their corresponding substantives. Thus Bhāsa's grammar places him long after each of the three.

¹ Kielhorn, op cit. pp. 6, 7.

² Bhaṭṭoji, Siddhāntakamudī, Nirṇaya Ed. 1893, p. 393.

³ Bhaṭṭoji, op. cit. p. 178.

⁴ Goldstücker, Pāṇini, op. cit. pp. 119—21.

⁵ Weber, Ind. Stud. Vol. XIII, p. 321.

Bhāsa and Later Dramatists.

In support of this a comparison with Kālidāsa is instructive. Anomalies in him are not uncommon. The following may be singled out: (i) *mandam mandam* Meghadū—according to Pāṇini, the Karmadhāraya form is only *mandamandam*. (ii) *gacchatī*,—Pāṇini only *gacchantī*. (iii) *triambakam*, Kumār canto III. Sandhi in *tryambaka* compulsory according to Pāṇini. (iv) *taṃpūṭayām prathamamāsa, prabhraṃsayām* *yo nahusaṃ cakāra, saṃyojayām vidhivadāsa*. Pāṇini no *vyavadhāna* between *ām* and *anu*, so *pūṭayāmasa prabhraṃsayāme-* *kāra saṃyojayāmāsa* only. (v) *Kūmayānāvastha*, Śakuntalā; Pāṇini requires *muk* before *sānac*. (vi) *turāsāham*, Kumār. canto II, the affix *ṇvi* with *saka* irregular. (vii) *Kusumāracya* Pāṇini ordains *ghaṇ*. (viii) *navāśasā* but *uśas* is not feminine. (ix) *parameṣṭhīn* against Pāṇini but allowed by Kātyāyana. (x) Pāṇini I. iv. 80 places an *upasarga* before the root. Pat-ñjali on Pāṇini I. iv. 81 and I. iv. 82 emphasizes it in literature other than Vedic. But Kālidāsa uses it after the root, *pascūḍa-dhyayanārtha*, etc. Such anomalies admit of an easy solution. Up to Patañjali, Pāṇini was freely criticized and corrected. Then began an attempt at its stabilization. Naturally it took time to get irrevocably stereotyped. Even Kālidāsa's time found many forms in a state of flux. That they would appear in his predecessor, Bhāsa, is not unexpected. The wonder is not that Bhāsa has them at all but that he has so few of them. And it confirms all the more his careful study of the three great grammarians. As a further illustration of his posteriority may be mentioned the word *saṅghāta*. It is regularly derived from *Sam* and *Vhan*. With Pāṇini (and even before him) Kātyāyana and Patañjali, it means merely "a collection or assemblage"¹ and is explicitly distinguished from the other word derived from the same root, viz. *saṅgha*, "an aggregation of individuals for a definite purpose." Three special Sūtras, Pāṇ. III. iii. 42, III. iii. 86 and V. ii. 52 point out that *saṅgha* must have a purpose, *Saṅghāta* none. Bhāsa, on the other hand, uses the

¹ Bhandarkar (D) Carmichael Lectures, 1919, pp. 111—113.

latter in the sense of the former. Pratimā Act III. 99 has *saṅghāta* with an unmistakably definite purpose, viz. a plot to release Udayana. This complete change in meaning suggests a long interval between the two. And in no way could he be earlier than Patañjali, second century B.C.

5.—Manu.

His Sources.—(i) Each of the four Vedas had several recensions, the differences being at first very slight, perhaps of simple arrangement.¹ (ii) Out of these gradually rose the different schools of Brāhmaṇa literature. (iii) The Mānavas were one of the six subdivisions of the Maitrāyaṇī school of the Black Yajurveda.² (iv) Their followers compiled³ manuals for sacrifice, i.e. Sūtras. Such works were studied according to Kumārila Bhaṭṭa, c. 700 A.D., in each *carana* like the Prātiśākhya rules. (v) Even setting aside Max Müller's conjecture⁴ that "a legal work ascribed to a Manu was known to the authors of the four Vedas" it is possible that legal maxims were included in them: "All Manu said is medicine."⁵ At any rate Sūtras dealing with Dharma were in existence at the time of Patañjali. (vi) From these, "came by natural development the law-books or Dharmaśāstras."⁶ (vii) Most of the original Dharmasūtras have not been recovered. The best preserved are those of the Āpastambas, of Hiraṇyakeśin and Baudhāyana.⁷ But their versified recension called Dharmaśāstras⁸ are extant.⁹ Kumārila Bhaṭṭa's Āśvalāyana-gr̥hya-sūtra, the Kāthaka Dharmasūtras, etc. survive only in these metrical śāstras, like the Āśvalāyana-gr̥hya-śāstra, the Viṣṇusmṛti, Gautama and Vāsiṣṭha Dharma-

¹ Burnell, Classified Index to the Tanjore MSS., p. 21.

² Whitney, Oriental and Linguistic Studies, i, p. 72.

³ Weber and Stenzler, Ind. Stud. vol. i, pp. 69, 143, 243, 244.

⁴ Max Müller, India, What can it teach us, p. 394.

⁵ Bühler, S.B.E. op. cit. pp. 1x-i.

⁶ Whitney, Skt. Gram. p. xviii.

⁷ Macdonell, op. cit., pp. 258-9.

⁸ Weber, Ind. Lit., p. 296.

⁹ Goldstücker, Remains, 1860, vol. i, p. 61.

śāstras etc.¹ (ix) But the oldest and most noted of them is that called by the name of Manu.² His mythical character is shown in Purāṇas (Viṣṇu, Hall, vol. I. pp. 104-5) and Itihāsas by Hopkins in J.A.O.S., vol. XI. pp. 247-56. Kulluka's comment on Medhātithi on Nārada and Manu I. 58 suggests the same. Chapter VII, dealing exclusively with polity and the life of a king—comparatively foreign to earlier Sūtras, save of Āpastamba II. x. 25—has led Burnell³ to claim the whole work as intended specially for kings. Manu's code claims as origin "The Deity said, this system I declared to Vivasvant (the sun); Vivasvant to Manu, and Manu to kingly seers."⁴ Such kings, in India, adopted the *gotra* of their *purohita* or household priests.⁵ The Dharmaśāstra under discussion is therefore styled Mānava, not from any mythical personage Manu,⁶ whose use⁷ simply imparts sanctity to its authority⁸ but from the Brāhmaṇa gotra Mānava, a division of the Black Yajurveda.⁹ It is a metrical recast of the lost Dharmasūtra of the Mānava Sūtracarana.¹⁰

His Date.—(i) Valabhi inscriptions,¹¹ dated from 526 A.D., mention the Dharmaśāstra of Manu. (ii) Bhāravi (c. sixth century A.D.) Kirāta, I. 9 refers to Manu, chapter VII. (iii) Kāmandaki (Kām. Nāt. VII. 24-5; II. 3; XI. 67) evidently knows not the original Mānava Dharmasūtra but the current Dharmaśāstra.¹² (iv) Megasthenes, Frag. xxvii. alludes to the absence of codified laws in 320 B.C., but Nārada (c. fifth century

¹ Bühler, op. cit., p. lxx.

² Whitney, Skt. Gram., p. xviii.

³ Hopkins, Religions of India, 1895, pp. 392, 401.

⁴ Burnell, The Ordinances of Manu, 1884, pp. xxii-iv.

⁵ Ind. Stud. ix. p. 325, x. p. 83.

⁶ Jolly, Manu, 1887, ch. I. 61, p. 7.

⁷ Hopkins. op. cit. p. 143.

⁸ Goldstücker, Remains, i. p. 107.

⁹ Burnell, op. cit., p. xxv.

¹⁰ Bühler, S.B.E., op. cit., p. xix.

¹¹ Ind. Ant. vol. iv. p. 104, v. 28, xi. 11, vii. 67, 69, 71, viii. 302.

¹² Bühler, S.B.E., op. cit., p. xxxviii.

A.D.) bears witness to written books like Manu.¹ (v) Brhaspati-smṛti (c. sixth century A.D.) is a Vārttika on Manu. (vi) Pulakeśi, founder of the Cālukya dynasty in the Dekkan about 500 A.D., claimed to be a Mānavya.² Mānavya, from Manu but later than Mānava, Pān. IV. i. 105, apparently signifies its connexion with the Mānava school. Manu's code therefore was quite authoritative by his time and could not be later than the sixth century A.D. (vii) Max Müller's view based on Ptolemy's astronomy and astrology is rightly repudiated by Jolly.³ For coming before Yājñavalkya and Nārada (c. fifth century A.D.), Manu could not be later than the fourth century A.D. (viii) Bharata (c. middle of third century A.D.) puns on Manusmṛti, Nāṭyaśā, chapter XXII. 161, Kāvya-māla 42, p. 253. Hence he could not be later than the middle of the third century A.D. (ix) The close similarity between Manu, chapter X. 43-4 and Aśoka Rock-edict V, mentioning Yavanas, Kambojas and Śakas suggests the former not earlier than third century B.C. (x) The Sūtra period proper is from 600-200 B.C.⁴ Manu's style is that of the Paurāṇic Sāṅkhya.⁵ It was unknown to Pāṇini and Patañjali (second-first century B.C.). Hence the compiler must be later than the first century B.C. Mithridates I of the Parthian dynasty invaded India about the second century B.C.⁶ The name Pahlava first appears,—not in the second century A.D. as Nöldeke mistook,—in the first century in Rudrādaman's inscription,⁷ 21-22 A.D., but not earlier. Manu's mention (if not spurious)⁸ cannot be earlier than the first century A.D. (xi) This is corroborated by Patañjali's ignorance of the Dharmasāstra, for Bhāṣya VI. i. 84 and II. iii. 35 are not from Manu II. 120 and IV. 151a as Mahābhārata has the

¹ Jolly, Nārada, i. 16.

² Ind. Ant. ix. p. 124.

³ Jolly, Tagore Lectures, pp. 65-6.

⁴ Max Müller, Skt. Lit., pp. 244ff.

⁵ Colebrooke, Essays, vol. i. p. 249.

⁶ Lassen, Indische Alterthumskunde II², 339.

⁷ Ind. Ant. vol. vii. p. 281.

⁸ Bühler, S.B.E., op. cit., p. cxvi-ii.

same, XIII. 104, 64b-65a and XIII. 104, 32,¹ and Manu and Mahābhārata have utilized the same materials.² Thus, not later than the middle of the third century A.D. and not earlier than the first century A.D. Manu, as Bühler also concludes though on different lines, belonged to the second century A.D.³

Manu and Bhāsa.

(i) In common with Gautama and Baudhāyana, Manu VII. 47, 50, strongly denounces gambling⁴ in a king; permitted by Āpastamba and Viṣṇu V. 134-135 under royal supervision. Bhāsa follows Manu: a gambler is "senseless", Pañca, Act I. page 32, "vulgar" and "improper", *ibid.* page 33, even if he is the king himself. Duryodhana, Uru, page 113 sl. 63, in his last moments confesses gambling as his guilt, with its dire consequences as well deserved. (ii) Manu insists on the compulsory nature of *dakṣiṇā* after the ceremony. A sacrifice is useless where no or too small a *dakṣiṇā* is given, Manu XI. 48. It is the keynote of Bhāsa's Pañcarātra. Bhīṣma echoes it over again to Duryodhana, Pañca, Act I. page 26. (iii) According to Manu "the father is hundred times more venerable than the teacher, but the mother a thousand times more than the father", II. 145⁵. Bhāsa calls this "the accepted rules of conduct" in Pratimā, Act III. page 54. To him, however, "a mother ceases to be so in going against the father" (*ibid.*). But he carefully distinguishes between Manu's authority and his personal opinion. He wishes that "henceforth his view be considered as superior" (to the current code, by implication). Pratimā, Act III. page 54. He might not agree with, but certainly knows Manu. (iv) And this he admits himself, beyond any possibility of doubt. Amongst a Brāhmaṇa's recognized studies he includes the "Mānaviṃśa Dharmasāstra",

¹ Kielhorn, Mahābhāṣya, vol. i. p. 457, vol. iii. p. 58.

² Bühler, S.B.E., op. cit., pp. lxxv-xc.

³ Bühler S.B.E. op. cit., p. cxvii.

⁴ Bühler, S.B.E. op. cit. pages lxx-i.

⁵ *Ibid* page 57.

Pratimā, Act V. page 79. The context indicates a well-established system. In any case he could not be earlier than his quotation, second century A.D.

Thus the cumulative effect of the above evidence would seem to place Bhāsa not later than the middle of the third century A.D. (1 and 2), nor earlier than the second century A.D. (3, 4 and 5). Hence, roughly, the thirteen dramas belong to the second-third century A. D.

II.—The Age of Bhāsa—(continued).

The question of Bhāsa's age, however, cannot be solved satisfactorily without taking into consideration every available piece of information, external as well as internal. A careful analysis of his *subject-matter*, as of his linguistic *form*, is necessary for the purpose. Hence it is instructive to note his relation to the following: 1. Jātakas (third century B.C.); 2. Aśoka (third century B.C.); 3. Epics (c. second-third century A.D.); 4. Prosody; 5. Poetics, and 6. Archæology.

1. *Jātakas and Bhāsa*.—Sāñci, Amarāvati and Bharhut relics contain sculptured carvings of the Jātaka stories. At Bharhut the titles of several of the Jātakas are inscribed. Thus, these birth legends, as part of Buddhist religious history, were known in the third century B.C.¹ They bear the following similarities with Bhāsa: (i) Yakṣiṇī as a female evil spirit, in the Jātaka and Bhāsa, Svapna, page 59. (ii) Sentence at the beginning of a story, e.g. "There was King Brahmadatta of Kāmpilya, etc.", Svapna, pp. 54-55—familiar to the Jātakas.

2. *Aśoka and Bhāsa*.—(i) Pradyota's ambassador addresses his master Udayana's son-in-law as *āryaputra* and *ayyaputto*, Svapna, pp. 67, 69; Aśoka, Siddhāpur inscription *āryaputra*-prince, Kumāra. (ii) Bhāsa talks at the end of twelve books of an India-wide "one-umbrella empire." Candragupta (c. 325 B.C.) was the earliest and the Andhrabhṛtyas and Kuṣaṇas first-second century A.D., the latest powers to serve as bases for the idea.

¹ Chalmers: The Jātakas, Eng. trans. 1895, Vol. I, page vi.

Cf. Aśoka's trans-Vindhyan Siddhāpur edict and "all-India" phraseology.¹

3. *The Epics and Bhāsa*.—The mention of Kaniska's tribe—the Tuṣāras in the Śāntiparva, lxv. 13-15, amongst foreigners under Hindu kings, and the absence of Hupas therein place the current Mahābhārata about the third century A.D.² There are a few discrepancies between the Mahābhārata and Bhāsa: (i) Pañca deals with the exile of the Pāṇḍavas at Virāṭa's capital, war between the former and the Kauravas in Virāṭa's territory and Duryodhana's promise to Droṇa to give half the kingdom to the Pāṇḍavas if discovered within five nights—a version unknown to the Mahābhārata.³ (ii) Arjuna's son Abhimanyu taken prisoner while fighting against Virāṭa—unknown⁴ as above. (iii) Mahābh—*mahābrāhmaṇa*—funeral priest (bad sense), Bhāsa—sometimes good sense as in Bṛhadāranyaka Upaniṣad ii. 19-22.

Rāmāyaṇa and Bhāsa.—The latter knows the former, Svap p. xxix, but perhaps not the extant edition. Rāmāyaṇa—Lakṣmaṇa younger brother of Bharata; Bhāsa—elder.⁵

Apart from these minor differences, Bhāsa is "deeply indebted to the epic sources for his inspiration."⁶ (i) Set phrases—*acireṇaiva*, Pratimā IV. 26, MBh. 9.2.58, Rām. 5.26.23; *Kampayann*, Panca, II. 21, MBh. 2.29.7, Rām 5.56.13; *Śaktih* Abhi. VI. 8, MBh. 3.157.50, Rām. 6.88.2; *nayāmi*, Pratimā V. 22, MBh. 6.54.81, Rām. (Gorresio) 75.28; *prasādam* Panca. II. 68, MBh. 9.35.72, Rām. 4.8.19; *madasalatitagūṇā* Abhi. II. 9 and *mattamātāṅgalilāḥ* Abhi. IV. 15, MBh. 3.80, Rām. 2.3.28; *Sambhramot*, Dūtav. verse 7 and Cāru iv. 3, MBh. 1.136, Rām. 7.37.3.29; *Sucireṇā*, Pratimā IV. 26a, MBh. 92.58, Rām. 6.61.20; Bhāsa's *śharatavākya* with *ya imāni*, MBh. 12.321.134.

¹ J.A.S.B. vol. LX. No. 7, pages 259-269.

² J.A.S.B., July 1913, page 259-269.

³ P. C. Roy, Mahābhārata, Vol. III. p. 67f. and ed. Nimeśand Siromani, Vol. II. pp. 33-35.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Gorresio p. 101—slightly different from Bomb. ed. of Parab. pt. I. p. 55; xviii. pp. 21-22.

⁶ J.A.O.S., April 1921, pp. 116-128.

(ii) so-called irregularities—*putreti*, Bāla II. 2 and *Avantyaḍhi-patch* (ante. pp. 20-3 for Bhāsa when not otherwise stated)—cf. Whitney ¹ and Böhtlingk ² for epic instances; *gamīṣye*, Rām. 5.56.29; *garjase*, Bāla III. 14 as above; *draṅsyate*, MBh. 3.14728, Rām. 2.83.8, Hariv 10735; *prechase*, MBh. I. 1451; *bhrāsyate*, M.Bh. 3.603, Rām. 3.45.12; *ruḅyate*. Bṛhatsamhitā 51.95; *sroṣyate* MBh. 9.105.107, Rām. (Gorr.) 2.120.22; *āprecha*, MBh. 14.403; *Upalapṣyati*, MBh. 7.3070; *pariṣvāsa* etc. MBh. 4.513, Rām. 3.38; *vīrantī*, MBh. 7.307; *rudantī*, MBh. 3.2886, Rām. 2.40.29; *grhya* common in MBh. and Rām.; *Sravati*, Pañca II. 22, Whitney, Skt. Gram. § 1041; *vimoktukāma* Avi. I. and as above; *Sarvājñah* Dūtav. verse 9, MBh. 4.527; *vyūḍhoras*, MBh. 1.3740.4553; *tulyadharmā*, Svap. VI. 10, MBh. 12.483; *yadi + cet*, MBh. 1.4203, Rām. 2.48.19. (iii) similarity extends to the metre also.

4. *Prosody and Bhāsa*.—The Epics, Purāṇas and Śāstras very commonly use the śloka which is rare in Kālidāsa and later. Bhāsa uses 436 ślokas out of 1,092 verses,³ i.e. about forty per cent., a feature which makes him different from all classical dramas, while he is closely akin to Aśvaghoṣa in his use of the *Suvadanā*,⁴ equally rare later on.

5. *Poetics*.—Bhāmaha is the earliest extant author of *Alaṅkāra*, dated by Harichand ⁵ towards the end of fifth or beginning of sixth century A.D., because he mentions cloud as a messenger of love. But Gaṇapati ⁶ claims him earlier than Kālidāsa, who is not mentioned in the number of poets like Medhāvī, Rāmaśarmā, etc., known to Bhāmaha. Anyway Bhāmaha criticizes the plot of *Pratijñā* in ch. iv. of *Kāvyaṅkāra*, 84-88. He seems to be referring to Bhāsa's *Pratijñā* as the phrase *hato'lena*, etc. has not been shown to occur in *Bṛhatkathā*,

¹ Skt. Gram. 176b and sec. 177b.

² Bemerkenswerthes aus Rāmājāna.

³ J.A.O.S. April 1921, p. 113.

⁴ J.A.O.S. April 1921, p. 115.

⁵ Kālidāsa et L'Art Poétique De L'Inde, pp. 77-78.

⁶ Intro. Svapna., 1910, p. 7.

the only other possible source. Hence Bhāsa was sufficiently well known about the fifth century A.D. to be quoted as an instance.

6. *Archæology*.—Bhāsa furnishes two important details about (i) sculpture and (ii) painting. (i) Pratiṃā is based on the custom of raising statues to dead kings in a building erected for the purpose. (ii) Similarly, Dūtavā Act I. pages 9-12 gives a vivid description of a realistic painting. The earliest known example of painting in India is that of the Jogimārā cave, third century B. C.,¹ whereas the earliest portrait statue, that of Kanishka, in the absence of confirmation as yet of Jayaswal's Śaiśunāga discoveries² [identified, by Foucher, as simple Yakṣa images (cf. Parkham and Bharhut) of the second century B. C.—Calcutta University Journal of Letters, 1921, vol. iv. page 75]. If Foucher's ³ view be accepted for the present, that the cult of secular statues as opposed to religious icons or images flourished in India about the first-second century A.D. then Bhāsa's explicit reference to it as a popular custom becomes more intelligible and his date less uncertain.

At any rate all the sources above tend to strengthen our previous conclusion, placing the Trivandrum Bhāsa about the second-third century A.D.

¹ Blch. Archæol. Surv. Ind., 1903-4, pp. 128-30.

² J.B.O.R.S., vol. V. pt. I. pp. 88-106.

³ Étude sur L'Iconographie Bouddhique, 1900, p. 2.

I.—Complete List of Bhasa's Magadhi with corresponding forms in Asoka, Sutanuka, Asvaghosa, Sakuntala, Mrechakatika, Mattavilasa and Mudraraksasa.

Asoka (Sutanukā as S) 3rd century B.C. (always Asoka, when not otherwise stated.)	Asvaghosa 2nd century A.D.	Bhāsa 2nd-3rd century A.D.	Number of occurrence, character and Bk. U = Unmattaka in Pratijñā, S = Sakara in Cāru.	Kāṭilāsa (K) and Mrechakatika (Mr) 5th-6th century A.D.	Mattavilāsa (Ma) and Mudraraksasa (Mu) 7th-8th century A.D.	Sanskrit equivalent.
2	1 ...	S	a (Mr) ...	a (Mu) ...	ca.
		2 ...	2, S	.....	.....	anāramadhyapati- tam (nom.)
		3 ...	"	.....	.....	anunayah.
		4 ...	"	.....	.....	anubadhyamāna.
		5 ...	"	.....	.....	anuvandya.
antālā	6 ...	"	.....	.....	antarā.

Āśoka (Sutanukā as S) 3rd century B.C. (always Āśoka, when not otherwise stated.)	Āśvaghoṣa 2nd century A.D.	Bhāsa 2nd-3rd century A.D.	Number of occurrence, character and Bk. U = Un- mataka in Pratijñā, S = Sakāra in Cāru.	Kalidāsa (K) and Mṛchakatika (Mr) 5th-6th century A.D.	Mattavilāsa (Ma) and Mudrarakṣasa (Mu) 7th-8th Century A.D.	Sanskrit equivalent.
		7 andhaalapūṭikohin...	2, Ś	andhaalapūṭi(dae) (Mr)	.....	andhakārapūṭitābh- yām.
		8 andhaalapūṭi'agam- bhīṇā.	"	.....	.....	andhakārapūṭita- gambhīrā.
		9 andhaalām	"	andhaalo(e) (Mr)...	.....	andhakāram.
		10 ammohi	"	.....	.....	āvābhyām.
		11 alām ...	"	.....	.....	alām.
alām	12 avilā ...	2 "	.....	.....	avilā.
		13 āśi ...	"	.....	āśi (Mu)	āśi.
		14 alake ...	"	alake (K)	.....	alam.
alām

Aśoka (Sutarnkā as S) 3rd century B.C. (always Aśoka, when not otherwise stated.)	Aśvaghoṣa 2nd century A.D.	Bhāsa 2nd-3rd century A.D.	Number of occurrence. Character and Blk. U = Unmatta in Pratiṣā, S = Sakāra in Cāru.	Kālidāsa (K) and Mrechakatika (Mr) 5th-6th century A.D.	Mattavilāsa (Ma) and Mudrarakṣasa (Mu) 7th-8th century A.D.	Sanskrit equivalent.
ia (ayam)	26 iam ...	S	iam (Mr)	...	iyam.
		27 itīahi ...	U	...	...	yastibhū.
idam	28 idam ...	2, S	...	idam (Me)	idam.
		29 inde	3, S and U	...	...	indrah.
iminā	30 iminā	U	iminā (K)	iminā (Ma)	anera.
ime	31 ime	"	ime (Mr)	...	ime.
		32 ujjiantī	"	...	...	ujjhyante.
		33 gudāho	"	...	...	utāho.

34	upañthiā	...	”	...	...	upasthithā.
35	uvadedun	...	”	...	...	upadātun.
36	eitha	...	S	eitha (Mr)	... eitha (Mu)	atra.
37	etāvaṇe	...	U	...	...	airāvaṇah.
38	eśā	...	5 S	eśā (Mr)	...	eśā.
39	ése (2)	...	8 U	ése (K) ” (Mr)	... } éso and éso (Ma) ...	éseh, etc.
40	eśā	...	”	...	...	eśā.
41	kaḍe	...	S	kae (K) kaḍe (Mr) kide (”)	... } ... } ... }	kṛtam.
42	kandahi	...	”	...	...	kraṇḍa.
43	Kam	...	”	kam (Mr)	...	kin.

eśā

eśe

eśā

kaḍe

Aśoka (Santaukā as S) 3rd century B. C. (always Aśoka, when not otherwise stated.)	Aśvaghoṣa 2nd century A.D.	Bhāsa 2nd-3rd century A.D.	Number of occurrence, character and Bk. U = Un-mattika in Prājñā, S = Sakara in Cāru.	Kālidāsa (K) and Mṛcchakatika (Mr) 5th-6th century A.D.	Mattavilāsa (Ma) and Mudrārākṣasa (Mn) 7th-8th century A.D.	Sanskrit equivalent.
kalēvi kalati	...	44 karēdi	U	kalemi (K) (1st pers.) kalēdi (Mr)	katradī (Mr)	karoti.
	...	45 kalā	ś	kalā (K)	Kalā (Mn)	kṛtvā.
	46 kavāḍasampudappaviṭṭham.	...	"	...	.....	kavāṭasampudappaviṭṭham.
	47 kaśā	...	U	kaśā (Mr)	kaśā (Mr)	kaśya.
	48 kaśali	...	"	...	.....	kaśūhīn.
	49 kaḥin	...	2 ś and U...	kaḥin (K) kaḥin (Mr)	kaḥin (Ma)	kutra.
	50 kāmāḍavve	...	ś	kāmāḍavve (Mr)	.....	kāmayitavyaḥ.
	51 kāmāḍevūḍāḍappahūdi.	...	"	...	.....	kāmāḍevānuyānaprabhī.

Aśoka (Sutannā as S) 3rd century B.C. (always Aśoka, when not otherwise stated.)	Aśvaghoṣa 2nd century A.D.	Blüasa 2nd-3rd century A.D.	Number of occurrence, character and Bk. U = Un-matāka in Prajñā, S = Sakāra in Cāru.	Kālidāsa (K) and Mīchakapīka (Mr) 5th-6th century A.D.	Maṭaviḷāsa (Ma) and Mudrārākṣasa (Mu) 7th-8th century A.D.	Sanskrit equivalent.
...	...	64 keśeṣu ...	S	keśeṣu (Mr) ...	.....	keśeṣu.
...	...	65 khaṇṇanti	U	khaṇṇ (Mr) ...	.....	khaṇṇante.
...	...	66 khaṇṇukāmā	"	khaṇṇ (Mr) ...	.....	khaṇṇitukāmā.
...	...	67 khu ...	6, Ś & U	khu (K) (Mr) ...	khu (Ma) ...	khalu.
...	...	68 khu(nāe?)	S	...	.....	khalu(nāe?).
...	...	69 khivemi	"	...	.....	kṣipāmi.
...	...	70 kholo ...	"	...	.....	kṣobhah.
...	...	71 gacchati	"	gacchati (Mr) ...	gacchati (Mu) ...	gacchati.

72	gapiādarīā	...	"	gañiā° (Mr)	...	....	gapiādarīkā.
73	gade ...	...	"	gade (Mr)	...	....	gatah.
74	gandham	...	"	gandha° (Mr)	...	....	gandham.
75	gantavyam	...	U	...	...	....	gantavyam.
76	gahṇa (2)	...	"	gahṇa (Mr)	...	gahṇa (Mu)	gṛhṇa (2).
77	gahṇia	...	ś	gahṇia (Mr)	...	{ gahṇia (Ma) gahṇia (Mu)	gṛhṇivā.
78	gahidā	...	"	gahidā } (Mr) gahidā }	...	....	gṛhītā.
79	ggahidā	...	2, ś & U	ggahidā (Mr)	...	....	gṛhītā.
80	geham ...	...	S	geham (Mr)	...	....	geham.
81	gehasā	...	"	...	...	....	gṛhasya.
82	giladi ...	...	U	...	...	....	grati.
83	ca ...	...	S	ca (Mr)	...	ca (Ma) (Mu)	ca.

gṛhītā

ca

Aśoka (Sutanukā as S) 3rd century B.C. (always Aśoka, when not otherwise stated.)	Aśvaghoṣa 2nd century A.D.	Bhāṣa 2nd-3rd century A.D.	Number of occurrence, character and Bk U=Unmatta in Pratiijā. S=Śākā in Cāru.	Kālidāsa (K) and Mṛcchakatika (Mr) 5th-6th century A.D.	Mattavilāsa (Ma) and Mudrārāksaṣa (Mu) 7th-8th century A.D.	Sanskrit equivalent.
cāṇḍakmasu- liye	...	84 caupphavihiām ...	U, Ś	cau° (Mr) ...	.....	catuspathavi- thikāyām.
	...	85 candam ...	2, U	candam (Mr) ...	.....	candam.
	...	86 cammakhaṇḍe ...	S	...	.....	cammakhaṇḍam (nom.)
	...	87 cāḷudattavaḍḍam ...	3 "	cāḷudattavaḍḍ° (Mr.)	.....	{ cāḷudattavatukam. cāḷudattavatukam.
	...	88 cāḷudattavaḍḍaśa ...	"	...	.....	cāḷudattavatukasya,
cāḷudattavaḍḍaśa	...	89 cittā ...	4 "	cittā (Mr) cittā "	cittā (Mu) ...	cittā.
	...	90 cuppacūḍḍam ...	"	...	.....	cūḷḇacūḍḍam.
	...	91 cedi ...	S	cedi° cedi° (Mr)	...	cedi.

92	chindia	...	"	...	...	chitrā.
93	jajjhai	...	"	...	...	dahyate.
94	janamajae	...	"	...	...	janamejayah.
95	jahā	...	"	jahā (Mr)	...	yathā.
96	jānāmi	...	"	jānāmi (Mr)	...	jānāmi.
97	jāva	...	U	jāva (Mr)	...	yāvat.
98	jivai	...	S	jivadi (Mr)	...	jivati.
99	jo	...	"	...	...	yah.
100	jocanasadam	...	U	...	...	yojanasatani.
101	na	...	S S & U	na (Mr)	...	na.
102	naanamattasathulam	...	S	naana ^o (Mr)	...	naanamātra- sathulam.

Asoka (Sutanukā as S) 3rd century B.C. (always Asoka, when not otherwise stated.)	Asvaghosa 2nd century A.D.	Bhāsa 2nd-3rd century A.D.	Number of occurrence, character and Bk. U = Un- mātaka in Pratijñā, S = Sakāra in Cāru.	Kaṭiāsa (K) and Mṛcchakatika (Mr) 5th-6th century A.D.	Mātaviāsa (Ma) and Mudrārākṣasa (Mu) 7th-8th century A.D.	Sanskrit equivalent.
		103 ṇacechi	U	...	...	nṛtya.
		104 natthā (nāc ?) natthā	2 S	...	...	naṣṭā (nāc ?) naṣṭā.
		105 ṇam	U	ṇam (Mr)	ṇam (Ma) ,, (Mu)	euam.
		106 nāṇatthā	Ś	...	...	nāṭakastrī.
	...	107 ṇāma	2 "	ṇāma (Mr)	ṇāma (Ma) ṇamam (Mu)	nāma.
		108 nāṣāpuṇehim	"	...	...	nāṣāpuṇābhyām.
ni	...	109 nityāśaidavvā	"	...	...	niryāṭayitavyā.

nāma
" Sutanukā
" iuse.

ni (loppala).	...	"	nīamāṇ° (Mr)	...	nīamāṇ (Mu)	...	nīamāṇā.
110 nīamāṇā	...	"	...	...	...	...	nīamāṇā.
111 nevacchavisesamāṇ- ḍidā.	...	U S	...	...	...	...	nepathyavisēṣa- maṇḍitaḥ.
112 tām	...	S	tām (Mr)	...	...	...	tām.
113 tava	...	3 "	tava (Mr)	...	...	...	tava.
114 taśsa	...	"	taśsa (Mr)	...	...	...	taśya.
115 tālā	...	U	tālā (Mr)	...	...	...	tādayitvā.
116 tāletha	...	"	...	...	...	...	tādayaṭa.
117 tālemi	...	"	...	...	taleśi (Ma) 2nd	...	tādayāmi.
118 { tāleah ti	...	3 "	...	...	...	...	tādayaṭha
119 { tti	...	4, S & U	tti (Mr)	...	{ tti (Ma) " and ti (Mu)	...	tti.

tām Sutanukā
" inscr.

ti

Asoka (Sutanukā as S) 3rd century B.C. (always Asoka, when not otherwise stated.)	Asvaghosa 2nd century A.D.	Bhāsa 2nd-3rd century A.D.	Number of occurrence, character and Bk. U = Un- matta in Pratijñā, S = Sakāra in Cāru.	Kālidāsa (K) and Mṛcchakatika (Mr) 5th-6th century A.D.	Mattavilāsa (Ma) and Mudrārāksasa (Mu) 7th-8th century A.D.	Sanskrit equivalent.
		138 dukkhaḍe	S ...	dukkhaḍe (Mr) ...	...	duṣkaraṇ.
		139 duṭṭhaasāḥ	U ...	duṭṭhaḥ (Mr) ...	duṭṭra, etc. (Ma) ...	duṣāśvab.
		140 duvehi	2 S ...	...	...	dvābhyām.
		141 duṣāsāle	S ...	duṣāsāṇaṁ (Mr) "	...	duḥśāsanah.
		142 de "	2 S & U...	de (K) ...	de (Ma) " (Mu)	te
		143 dēvalājo	U ...	dēva (Mr) ...	...	devarājah.
		144 dhārāṇamlehi	" ...	...	...	dhārāṇigalaih.
		145 dhāvāsī	ś ...	dhāvāsī (Mr) ...	dhāvāsī (Mu)	dhāvāsī.

146	pakkakavittam	...	"	...	...	pakkapittham.
147	pakkhaduvālam	...	"	...	pakkhaduāla (Mr)	pakṣadvāram.
148	pakkhalantī	...	"	...	pakkhalantī (Mr)	praskhalantī.
149	paccaena	...	U	...	pacca° (Mr)	pratyayena.
150	paccā ...	...	Ś	...	...	paścāt.
151	padhāvāsi	...	"	...	...	padhāvāsi.
152	parahudiam	...	"	...	parahudiam (Mr)	par-bhṛtīkām.
153	parittaasi	...	"	...	...	paritrāsyate.
154	paribbhatte	...	U	...	...	paribhrasṭah.
155	paribbhamanteṇa	...	"	...	...	paribbhamatā.
156	pallavam	...	S	...	pallavaam (Mr)	pallavam.
157	paviṭṭha	...	"	...	...	pravṛṣṭa.

pachā...

Asoka (Suttanukā as S) 3rd century B.C. (always Asoka, when not otherwise stated.)	Asvaghosa 2nd century A.D.	Bhāsa 2nd-3rd century A.D.	Number of occurrence, character and Bk. U = Un- mattaka in Pratijñā, S = Sakāra in Cāru.	Kālidāsa (K) and Mrechakatika (Mr) 5th-6th century A.D.	Mattaviḷāsa (Mu) and Mudrārākṣasa (Mu) 7th-8th century A.D.	Sanskrit equivalent.
		158 praśīda	S	paśīda (Mr)	...	praśīda.
		159 paśīdadu (2)	U	paśīdadu (Mr)	...	praśīdatu (2).
		160 pāḍa	"	pāḍi° (Mr)	...	pāṭayitvā.
		161 pādapāśīhi	"	pāda° (Mr)	...	pādapāśīkalh.
	...	162 pi	"	pi (Mr)	pi (Mu)	api.
		163 pinaññanti	"	...	...	pinahyaute.
	...	164 pūṭim	"	pāḍi° (Mr)	...	pritiṃ.
pīṭi	...	165 puno	"	puno (Mr)	...	punaḥ.
ṛunā	...	166 pekḥha	S	pekḥha (Mr)	...	paśya.

167	pekkhadu (2)	...	U	pekkhadu (Mr) ...	...	prekṣatām (2).
168	pekkhāmi	...	S	pekkhāmi (Mr) ..	{ pekkhāsi (Ma) 2nd pekkhāmi (Mu)	peṣyami.
169	bajjhe	...	2 U	baddhe-baddho (Mr)	...	baddhah.
170	baḷakkārena	...	S	baḷakkā° (Mr) ...	...	baḷātkārena.
171	balajjanadullāhe	...	S	...	...	balavajjanadullā- bhaḥ.
172	balinā	...	U	...	...	balinā.
173	bahumānyādi	...	S	...	...	bahumānyate.
174	bhaavaṃ	...	U	...	{ bhaavaṃ (Ma) " (Mu)	bhagavan.
175	bhakkhissam	...	"	...	...	bhakṣayisyāmi.
176	bhaṭṭiputte	...	S	...	...	bhaṭṭiputraḥ.
177	bhaṇādi	...	2 S	blāṇādi (K) " (Mr)	...	bhaṇāti.
178	bhaṇāsi	...	2 S & U	bhaṇāsi (Mr) ...	bhaṇāsi (Ma) ...	bhaṇatha bhaṇāti.

Aśoka (Sutanukā as S) 3rd century B.C. (always Aśoka, when not otherwise stated.)	Aśvaghōṣa 2nd century A.D.	Bhāsa 2nd-3rd century A.D.	Number of occurrence, character and Bk. U = Un- matta in Prājiñā S = Sakara in Cāru.	Kālidāsa (K) and Mreṇakapika (Mr) 5th-6th century A.D.	Mattavilāsa (Ma) and Mudrārākṣasa (Mr) 7th-8th century A.D.	Sanskrit equivalent.
		179 bhaṇāhi	ś	bhaṇāli, bhaṇa (K) " " (Mr)	...	bhaṇa.
		180 bhaṇehi	s	{ bhaṇehi } { bhaṇesi } (Mr)	...	bhaṇa.
		181 bhaṇśakṭavā	"	...	...	bhaṇśayitavyā.
		182 bhavarā	u	...	...	bhāvān.
		183 bhaṇsi	s	bhaṇsi (Mr.)	...	bibheṣi.
		184 bhāve	16	bhāve (K) " (Mr)	...	bhāva and bhāvān.
		185 bhindadi	u	...	...	bhidyaṭe.

186	bho ...	8	"	bho (Mr)	...	...	bholu.
187	mae ...	2	"	mae (K) " (Mr)	...	mae (Ma)	mayā.
188	maḍamaḍāśśam	2	S	maḍamaḍāśśam (Mr)	...	...	mayā.
.....	.....		"	...	...	...	maḍamaḍāyise.
189	maḍe ...	...	"	maḍe (Mr)	...	...	mṛtaḥ.
190	maṁ ...	7, Ś & U		maṁ (Mr)	...	maṁ (Ma)	mām.
191	mama ...	3	"	mama (K) " (Mr)	...	mama (Mu)	mama.
192	maṁśi...	...	S	...	...	...	māryase.
193	maṁanteṇa	...	"	...	...	...	maḥatā.
194	maṁnaraṁ	...	"	...	...	...	maḥukaraṁ.
195	maḥeśśaraṁ	...	"	...	...	...	maḥeśvaraṁ.

maṁ ...

tṛena ...

Asoka (Sthanukā as S) 3rd century B.C. (always Asoka, when not otherwise stated).	Asvaghosa 2nd century A.D.	Bhāsa 2nd-3rd century A.D.	Number of occurrence, character and Bk. U = Un-matṛaka in Pṛtījñā, S = Saka in Cāru.	Kālidāsa (K) and Mrc-hatātika (Mr) 5th-6th century A.D.	Matavilasa (Ma) and Nudrarakasa (Mu) 7th-8th century A.D.	Sanskrit equivalent.
mā ...	mā ...	196 mā ...	4 Ś	mā (Mr) ...	mā (Ma) ...	mā.
		197 māthu (2) ...	4 S & U	...	...	māhalu (2).
		198 mālaśsam ...	.....	mālaśsam (Mr)	...	māraśyāmi.
		199 mālae ...	S	...	...	māraya.
		200 māliśa ...	3, U	...	...	māriśa.
		201 muica (2) ...	2 "	muica (K) ... muica (Mr)	...	muica (2).
		202 muicavāśsam ...	" S	...	...	mocayisyāmi.

203	mufceśi	...	"	...	...	mufceśi.
204	mukam	...	U	...	...	mukam.
205	muhurtadubbālā	...	U S	muhurtāo (Mr) ...	...	muhurtadurbalāh.
206	mūlakandam	...	S	...	...	mūlakandam.
207	me ...	...	3 "	me (K) " (Mr)	me (Ma)	me.
208	mehabandhanam	...	U	...	...	mehabandhanam.
209	mehalanādhahāsā	...	S	...	...	mekhalānādhahāsā.
210	modāā (2)	...	9 U	...	...	modakāl.
211	yadi ...	...	"	...	yai (Mn)	yadi.
212	yāśi ...	...	"	yāśi (Mr.)	...	yāśi.
213	rakṣanti	...	"	...	...	rakṣanti.
214	rasanā ...	...	"	...	...	rasanā.

me ... te (2nd pers.)

yadā ...

orāsu ...

223 vajjha ...	...	U	vajjha (Mf)	...	...	baddhah.
224 vajjanti	...	"	...	...	...	badhnanti
225 vañcide	2	S	...	...	...	vañcitali.
226 vañua ...	2	"	...	...	...	vañuka.
227 vañcamāsaṃ	...	"	...	...	...	vasantamāsaṃ.
228 vañcaṣeṇia	4	"	...	...	...	vasantaseṇā.
229 vañcaṣeṇie	6	"	...	...	...	vasantasone.
230 vā ...	9	S & U	vā (K) (Mf)	...	{ vā (Me) vā (Mu)	vā.
231 vāubbhāmena	...	U	...	...	...	vātodbhāmena.
232 vāṭam	...	S	...	...	...	vāṭam.
233 vāṇvadaḡalappa vi- ṭṭam.	...	"	...	...	...	pāṇvadaḡala pra- viṭṭam.
234 vāṇeṣu ...	...	"	...	...	...	vāṇeṣu.

Āśoka (Sutannkā as S) 3rd century B.C. (always Āśoka, when not otherwise stated).	Āśvaghoṣa 2nd century A.D.	Bhāṣa 2nd-3rd century A.D.	Number of occurrence, character and Bk. U = U- mattala in Zratiṇā. S = Sakara in Cāru.	vāśū (Mf)	vāśudeve (Mf)	vāśū (Mf)	vi (Mf)	via (Mf)	via (Ma) ,, (Mn)	Matca vilāsa (Ma) and Mudārātsasa (Mn) 7th-8th century A.D.	Sanskrit equivalent.
		235 vāśū ...	S	vāśū (Mf)	...	...	...	...	...	...	vāśu.
		236 vāśūjeve	"	vāśudeve (Mf)	...	...	...	...	...	...	vāśudevab.
		237 vāśū	"	vāśū (Mf)	...	...	...	...	...	...	vāśūb.
		238 vi	2 U	vi (Mf)	...	...	...	...	...	...	api.
		239 via	4 S	via (Mf)	...	...	...	...	...	...	iva.
		240 vikkoṣa	U	vikkoṣa (Mf)	...	...	...	...	...	...	vikroṣa.
		241 vijjumaṭhi	"	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	vidyumanayibhāh.
		242 vilava (2)	3 "	vilava (Mf)	...	...	...	...	...	...	vilapa (2).

243	vilavavilava(nāc?)	३	S	...	...	vilapavilapa(nāc?)
244	vilavissam	...	U	...	...	vilapiṣyāmi.
245	śaṅkalamīśalam	...	S	...	śaṅkalamīśalam (Mr.)	śaṅkaramīśvaraṁ.
246	śaṅthāne	...	S	...	śaṅthāṇ° (Mr)	saṁsthānakah.
247	śaṅpūlā	...	U	...	...	saṅpūrā.
248	śanto	...	S	...	śanta° (Mr)	śrāntah.
249	śamaṇaa	...	U	...	śamaṇake (Mr)	śramaṇaka.
250	śampadī	...	S	...	śampadam (Mr)	saṁprati.
251	śalayogena	...	"	...	śala° (Mr)	svarayogena.
252	śaṅṭam	...	"	...	...	śaṅṭam.
253	śaraṭṭena	...	"	...	...	śpaṭṭena.

Asoka (Sutanukā as S) 3rd century B.C. (always Asoka when not otherwise stated.)	Asvaghosa 2nd century A.D.	Bhāsa 2nd-3rd century A.D.	Number of occurrence, character and Bk. U = Un- mataka in Pratijñā, S = Sakāra in Cāru.	Kālidāsa (K) and Mīchakaṭika (M) 5th-6th century A.D.	Mataviḷāsa (Ma) and Mudrarakṣasa (Mu) 7th-8th century A.D.	Sanskrit equivalent.
	254 śavauchim	...	S	...	...	śavaṇābhyaṁ.
	255 śavapattasena (P.śe)	...	"	...	...	śavapattasenaḥ.
	256 śavvarṁ	...	"	śavvarṁ (Mf)	śavvarṁ (Mu)	śavvarṁ.
	257 śavidum	...	U	...	...	śaptum.
	258 śavettanarṁ	...	S	śavettanarṁ (Mf)	...	śaveṣṭanarṁ.
	259 śā	...	"	śā (Mf)	...	śā.
	260 śāl(śi P)arṁ	...	"	...	...	śārikāṁ.
	261 śāhu	...	2	śāhu, śāhū (Mf)...	...	śādhū.

262	śi	...	"	śi (Mr)	...	...	asi.
263	śigālī	...	"	śiālī (Mr)	...	...	śrgālī.
264	śilāsī	...	"	śilāsī (Mr)	...	...	śirasi.
265	śiloluheśu	...	"	śiloluheśu (Mr)	...	...	śiroruheśu.
266	śihigivāmeae	...	S	.....	...	...	śikbigivāmeacakah.
267	śidānivābulāmi	...	"	śidā (Mr)	...	...	śītāmivāharāmi.
268	śisakavālaṁ	...	"	śīśa (Mr)	...	...	śiṣakapālāṁ
269	śīsārā	...	3 "	śīsārā (Mr)	...	śīśa (Mr)	śiṣārā
270	śīśeṇa	...	"	śīśeṇa (Mr)	...	...	śiṣeṇa
271	śuṣṭhu	...	2 "	.....	...	...	suṣṭhu
272	śuṣāmi	...	"	śuṣāmi (Mr)	...	śuṣāmi (Ma)	śiṣāmi

Aśoka (Sutanukā as S) 3rd century B. C. (always Aśoka, when not otherwise stated.)	Aśvaghoṣa 2nd century A.D.	Bhāsa 2nd-3rd century A.D.	Number of occurrence, character and Bk. U = Un-matṭaka in Pratiñā. S = Sakāra in Cāru.	Kālidāsa (K) and Mṛcchakatika (M.) 5th-6th century A.D.	Mattavilāsa (Ma) Mudrārāksasa (Mu) 7th-8th century A.D.	Sanskrit equivalent.
	śūpāhi	273 ...	...	śūnuha Pl. (K) .. śūnu (Mr) ...	śūpātha (2 pl.) (Ma) śūpādu (3rd pers.) (Ma)	śūpu
	śudam	274 ...	...	śudam (Mr) ..	...	śrutam
	śuvannāramā	275 ...	...	śuvannā (Mr) ...	...	śuvannāvaṣa
	śuvannālāṅkareṇa	276 ...	...	...	śuvanna (Ma) ...	śuvannālāṅkareṇa
	śuve	277 ...	...	...	...	śvab
	śauvahā...	278 ...	...	...	...	sarvathā

samāṅg	...	279 samāṅg	...	U	...	...	śramaṇaka
		280 balaṅg	...	S	balaṅg (Mr)	palīśadha (Mu) ...	hṛdayaṅ
		281 balantī ...	...	"	balantī (Mr)	...	harantī
		282 havā ...	...	"	...	...	athavā
		283 halaha...	...	2 U	...	...	halaha
hi. cf. i	...	284 hi ...	...	3 S & U	hi (Mr) ...	hi (Mu) ...	hi
		285 hīhī ...	...	U	hī(Mr) ...	...	hī hī
		286 hu ...	...	"	hu (K) (Mr)	...	khalu
bhoti	...	287 hoi ...	...	3 S	hoī (Mr)	hoī (Ma)	bhavati
"	"	288 hodi ...	...	"	hodi (Mr) hedu (K) 2nd pers. Imp.	bhodi (Mu)	"

II.—Characterization of Bhasa's Magadhi.

The following are the chief characteristics :—

Phonetics.—

Vowels.—*r* becomes *a*, cf. 41, 45, 76-79, 103, 189 ; becomes *i*, cf. 134, 136, 263 ; becomes *ī*, cf. 137 ; becomes *u*, cf. 272-3 ; becomes *e*, cf. 73, 81 ; becomes *aī*, cf. 280. In 278, *sarvathā* becomes * *sarvathā* > *sauvathā*, *a* > *au* or 1st *v* > *u* ; *o* sometimes becomes *e*, 44. A vowel before a double consonant is generally short, cf. 103, 123, 125, etc., but sometimes long, cf. 120. Before *r* + *va*, *a* is lengthened into *au*, 278.

Consonants.—Single consonants at the beginning remain unaltered : exceptions, *n* > *na*, 101 ; *y* > *j*, 95, 97, also retained, 211, 212 ; *s* and *ś* > *ś*, 245-78, only two instances of *s* retained, 40, 279 ; *g* dropped between vowels, 20, 174 ; medial *t* becomes *d*, 33, 73 ; *c* becomes *a*, 1, *ṭ* between vowels > *ḍ*, 165 ; *dṛ* becomes *jj*, 65 (contrast Aśvaghoṣa, Lüders, Bruchstücke, p. 35), cf. also 185. *Kiśsa* for ablative *Kasmāt*, 56 (cf. Lüders, ibid) while *kāśśya* for *kasya*, *tr* > *tt*, 32 ; *ry* > *ī*, 132 ; *kṣ* > *kkh*, 213 ; *gha* and *kha* between vowels > *ha*, 208-9 ; *sm* > *hm*, 16, 17 ; medial *ccḥ* retained, 20 ; *r* > *ṛ* and *ri*, 126-7 ; *ḍ* > *ḷ*, 115-6, *aṇa* > *aṇā* and *aṇe*, 179, 180. *Khalu* > *Kkhu*, also *Khalu*, *Khu*, in Sandhi and *hu*, 58, 68, 197, 286 ; *tti* and *ti* for *iti*, 119.

Sandhi.—*a* + *ā* = *ā*, 33, 267.

Declension.—

Nouns.—Nominative *e* for singular and plural 62, 72, but also *o*, 70.

Instrumental—*ena*, 193.

Vocative—*a* and *e*, 184, 226.

Pronouns.—1st person singular nominative both *ahake* and *aham* 14 and 15, acc. *maṁ* 190, instr. *mae* 187, gen. *me* 207.

3rd person feminine nominative *iaṁ* 26, 3rd person instr. *iminā* and nominative plural *ime*.

Interjection and Conjunction.—*āma* = yes (found only in Pāli), *a* and *ca* for *ca*, 1, 83.

Conjugation.—

3rd person Ind. *Karedi* = *Karoti*, 44, *bhaṇādi* for *bhaṇāti*, 177.

2nd person Ind. *bhaṇāsi* = *bhaṇatha*. Singular *bhaṇahi* and *bhaṇehi* for *bhaṇa*, *hoi* and *hodi* for *bhavati*. There is no *bhoti* form as in Aśvaghoṣa (cf. Lüders, op. cit. p. 36, singular *bhoti*, 10).

Most of Bhāsa's forms, agreeing with other authors which would have to be considered in a discussion on the general nature of Māgadhi, need no characterization here. Only four points may be compared with Aśvaghoṣa's as bearing on the date of Bhāsa. (1) Personal pronoun nominative singular Bhāsa *ahake* and *ahaṃ* 14-5, and Aśvaghoṣa *ahakaṃ* (later *ahake*, *hake*, *hage*; Vararuci 11, 9; Hem. 4, 301; Pischel, 417. (2) Bhāsa, *Kiśsa* 56, Aśva, *Kiśsa* (later *Kiśa*, Pischel, 428). (3) Bhāsa, *āacchadi* 20 and Aśva, *vicchadd*..... (later *cch* > *sc* Hem. 4, 295, Pischel 324). (4) Bhāsa *ittīāhi* for *yaṣṭibhih* 27. Aśva.....*itthā* (later *ṣṭ* and *ṣṭh* > *ṣṭ*; Hem. 4. 289f.; Pischel 303).

The Jogīmārā inscription of Śutanukā (cf. Pischel, Sitzungsberder Preuss. Ak. d. W. 1906 s. 489 ff.) is in pure Māgadhi of the grammarians, with only *ś*, no *r*, final *o* throughout represented by *e*, long vowels *ā*, *i* and *ū* always expressed by short *a*, *i* and *u*, and anusvāra (*m̐*) written only in *tuṃ* (line 4) but omitted in *bal[a]na*, i.e. *balanaṃ* or *balunaṃ* (same line) (Bloch Archaeological Survey of India Report, 1903-4, p. 128).¹ Similarly, the Sitābengā inscription (Bloch, op. cit. p. 130) is in pure Leṇa dialect, akin to Śaurasenī in having *r*, the final *o* and *s* instead of *ś*. Both belong to the third century B.C., the former to a lower stratum of society, the latter a higher. In Bhāsa's Māgadhi (second-third century A. D.), this isolated purity has already been replaced by a mutual influence which, later on, is to strongly modify the nature of all the Prakrits.

¹ The above view requires revision in the light of Jayaswal's reading in the *Indian Antiquary*, July 1919, page 131.

Buddhist Iconography.

Vajradhara vs. Vajrasattva.

By Vinayatosha Bhattacharyya, M.A.

The present article is an attempt to distinguish between the two gods of the Buddhists, *Vajradhara* and *Vajrasattva*, who are often confused by the students of Iconography. Many are inclined to think that Vajradhara is known only in the pantheons outside India but unknown in India itself. This is erroneous as I have discovered in Nepal a large number of truly Indian images of Vajradhara and met with Buddhists there who even now worship him.

It is well known that the Buddhists of the Vajrayāna cult believed the five Dhyānī or "Meditative" Buddhas and a sixth, Vajrasattva, to be the highest gods of their pantheon. These are a peculiar kind of Buddhas who are not required to pass through the stage of a Bodhisattva, and they are said to live in peaceful meditation in the Akaniṣṭha Heaven.¹ They do not create themselves, but sometimes from their persons emanate the Bodhisattvas, whose duty it is to create. The emanated Bodhisattvas hold the miniature figures of their spiritual fathers on their crown when represented in art.

The Dhyānī Buddhas are five in number to which a sixth, Vajrasattva, is sometimes added. They are :—

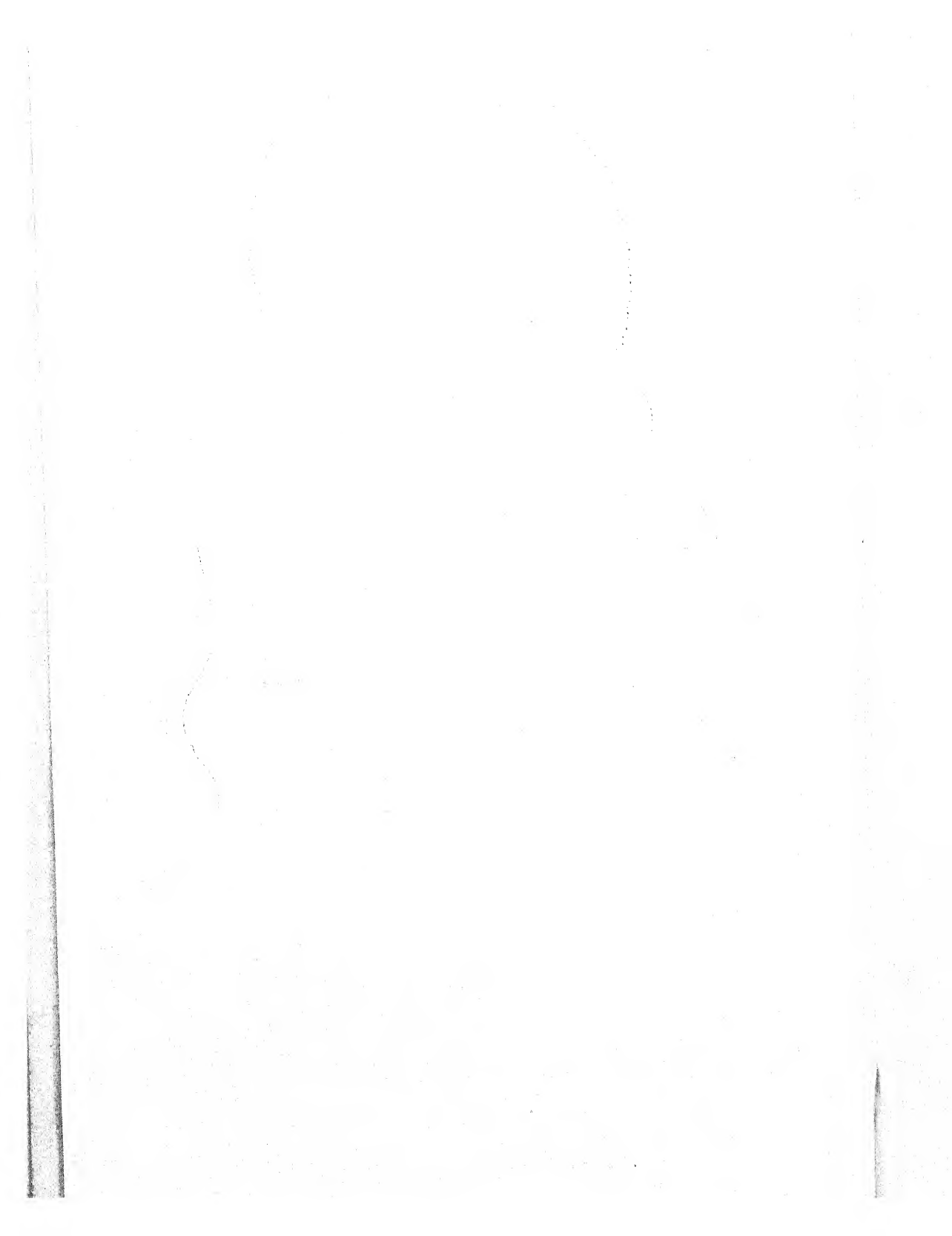
1. Amitābha.
2. Akṣobhya.
3. Vairocana.
4. Ratnasambhava.
5. Amoghasiddhi.

¹ The Buddhist Universe is divided into three grand divisions, Kāma, Rūpa and Arūpa heavens. Akaniṣṭha is the highest of the Rūpa heavens and the inmates of this heaven only retain their forms.



ADI-BUDDHA VAJRADHARA,
THE HIGHEST GOD OF THE BUDDHIST PANTHEON.

(After a Nepalese painting)



The idea of the five Dhyānī Buddhas seems to have been developed from the theory of the eternity of the five Skandhas¹ or elements, and the Dhyānī Buddhas are said to preside over one or the other of the five Skandhas. Vajrasattva, the sixth Dhyānī Buddha, presides over the mind, and as such, is an embodiment of the five Skandhas collectively.

All these six Dhyānī Buddhas have their emanations, who are called Bodhisattvas, for example, Padmapāṇi is the Bodhisattva of Amitābha, Vajrapāṇi of Akṣobhya, Sāmantabhadra of Vairocana, Ratnapāṇi of Ratnasambhava and Viṣvapāṇi of Amoghasiddhi, and Ghaṇṭapāṇi of Vajrasattva.

From the above it appears that Vajrasattva is after all a Dhyānī Buddha. But he differs from the other Dhyānī Buddhas in the matter of dress and ornaments he wears. His dress is princely and ornaments costly unlike other Dhyānī Buddhas who are required to be dressed in the monkish habit of three rags (*tricīvara*) without any ornament whatsoever. As ornaments and dresses are prescribed only for the Bodhisattvas, Vajrasattva becomes a Dhyānī Buddha partaking of the nature of a Bodhisattva as well. This conclusion seems to be irresistible if we take into consideration the fact that in the *Sādhananālā* Vajrasattva is described as bearing the miniature figure of his sire, Akṣobhya on the crown, thereby alleging that at least in some quarters he was regarded as an emanation of Akṣobhya, or the same as Vajrapāṇi.

Up to the beginning of the tenth century Vajradhara was an abstract idea. Vajradhara means the "Holder of Thunderbolt", in other words, the "Holder of Śūnya (void)" that is, the god who has already merged himself in Śūnya or Void. Naturally Vajradhara was the highest ideal of the Vajrayāna Buddhists: their ultimate goal was to merge themselves in Śūnya, that is to say, to obtain Nirvaṇā, in other words, to be Vajradhara. As Vajradhara has already attained Śūnya he cannot possibly have

¹ Pañcaskandhasvabhāvatvāt Pañcaskandhā Jināḥ smṛtāḥ.

any form. He has reached the highest heaven, the fourth heaven beyond even *Akaṇiṣṭha*, and consequently his form is lost.

Such was the conception of Vajradhara up to the beginning of the tenth century but afterwards there came a change.

The monastery at Nālanda was the place at which was originated the theory of Ādi-Buddha and Kālacakra, and ultimately Vajradhara was mixed up with Ādi-Buddha.¹ Alexander Csoma de Koroš in an article² contributed to J. A. S. B. thus translates a Tibetan authority on the origin of Ādi-Buddha :—

“ He (a certain Pandit [called Tsilu or Chilu] then came to Nālanda in Central India. Having designed over the door of the Vihāra (the ten guardians of the world), he wrote below them thus :

“ He that does not know the chief first Buddha (Ādi-Buddha) knows not the circle of time (Kālacakra).

“ He that does not know the circle of time knows not the exact enumeration of the divine qualities.

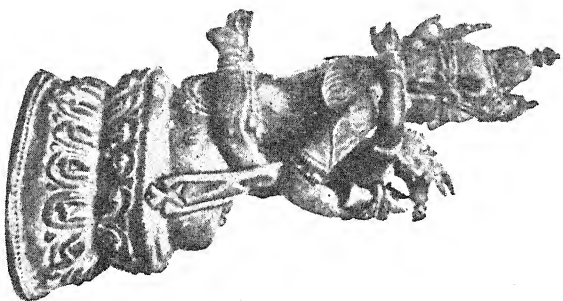
“ He that does not know the exact enumeration of the divine attributes, knows not the supreme intelligence (Vajradhara) ”

Ādi-Buddha, therefore, is the same as Kālacakra and Vajradhara. Ādi-Buddha, as the name implies, is the primordial Buddha to whom the world owes its origin. So Ādi-Buddha or Vajradhara is the creator of the Universe and of everything including the five Dhyāni Buddhas and other Tathāgatas. The work of creation is further carried on by the Bodhisattvas previously enumerated.

In the Svayambhū Purāṇa it is said that Ādi-Buddha first manifested himself in the lake Kālihrada in Nepal in the shape of a luminous flame of fire and homage was paid to this god in the shape of a flame. Later on the priests conceived him in two different forms, single and *yab-yum*. When single his

¹ This happened in the beginning of the tenth century.

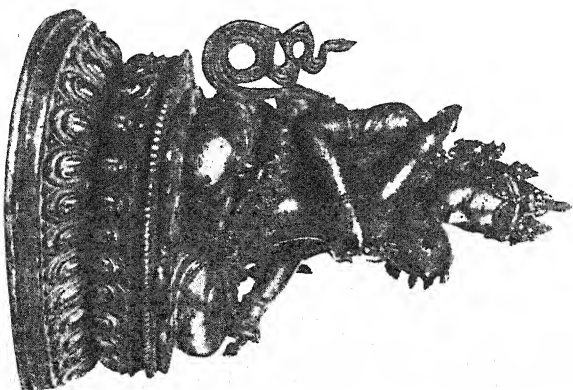
² J.A.S.B. Vol. II (1833), p. 57ff.



VAJRADHARA (*Yab-yum*).
FIG. II.



VAJRASATTVA.
FIG. III.



VAJRASATTVA (*Yab-yum*).
FIG. IV.

colour is blue and he wears heavenly ornaments and garments. He sits in the *Vajraparyāṅka* attitude on the open face of a double lotus. His two hands carrying the Vajra and the Ghaṇṭā are joined against the breast to exhibit what is called the *Vajrahūṅkāra mudrā*. (Fig. I.)

The *Śakti* of Vajradhara is *Prajñāpāramitā* in whose eternal embrace he is sometimes represented in *yab-yum* (fig. II). The *śakti* carries the *Kartri* in the right hand and *Kapāla* in the left and embraces Vajradhara whose form is the same as when single.

The *Dhyānī Buddha*, *Vajrasattva*, is also conceived in two different forms, single and *yab-yum*. When single he sits in the *vajraparyāṅka* attitude on the open face of a double conventional lotus. He is richly decorated with ornaments and wears princely garments. He carries the Vajra against the breast in the right hand with its palm upwards. The left hand carries the Ghaṇṭā near the waist. (Fig. III.)

When represented in *yab-yum* he is closely associated in the embrace of his *Śakti*, *Vajrasattvātmikā* (fig. IV), who carries the *Kartri* and the *Kapāla*. In *yab-yum* also the form of *Vajrasattva* is the same as when single.

So Vajradhara and Vajrasattva are different both in essence as also in form. Vajradhara partakes of the nature of the first or the primordial Buddha, while Vajrasattva is at best a *Dhyānī Buddha* if not actually of the nature of a *Bodhisattva*.

¹ Vajrapāṇi also carries the Vajra exactly in the same fashion. Some images of Vajrasattva and Vajrapāṇi are to be found in the Galleries of the Archaeological Section, Indian Museum, Calcutta.

² Figures II—IV are photographs of Nepalese bronzes.

Exorcism in Chota Nagpur.

By Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A., B.L., M.L.C.

Nothing gives a clearer view of the conception of a spirit formed by the man of lower culture than the various processes followed and spells or *mantras* used by him in exorcising spirits in cases of supposed spirit-possession.

In the present paper I shall describe the method of exorcism followed and the *mantras* used by the Chōtā Nāgpur spirit-doctor in treating a married woman who has had the misfortune of either not bearing any child or of losing her children in their infancy. Such a misfortune is invariably attributed by the Chōtā Nāgpur aboriginal to the malice of some mischievous spirit or other.

In such a case a spirit-doctor, known as a *deonrā*, *sokha* or *māti*, is approached for finding out the spirit who is responsible for the trouble, and the proper means of expelling it.

I. Dali-dekhna (or examining rice grains.)

The husband or some other relative of the woman goes, with a few companions, to the *deonrā*, *sokha* or *māti*, carrying a handful of *āruā* rice and four pice on two or three *sakhua* leaves made into a bundle with cloth. The woman for whose benefit this is being taken is made to touch this rice and pice before it is taken to the *māti*. Arriving at the *māti*'s place the bundle is handed over to the *deonrā* or *māti*. The *māti* before opening it mutters some *mantras*, examines the rice and also the *sāl* leaf and then informs the people that the familiar *bhūt* of such-and-such a person (either a relative or a villager or a person of another village) is causing the trouble. If this agrees with their suspicions, they ask the *māti* to drive away the *bhūt*. Then the *māti* tells them to bring the articles required to perform the exorcism, such as rice-flour, coal-dust, lamp, etc., and also the requisite

sacrifices supposed to have been "seen" by the *deonrā* or *māti* in the *dālia*. If they believe in this then they provide the requisite articles with which the *māti* performs the *niksāri* ceremony.

If they have suspicions, they require the performance of the *kumāri-baiṭhāna* rites so that the proper sacrifices may be known through the mouth of the woman herself (in a state of spirit-possession). It often happens that a few more sacrifices are named by the woman which were omitted by mistake by the *deonrā* or *māti* in the *dāli-dekhnā* process. This time there can be no room for scepticism.¹

II. Kumāri-baiṭhānā.

On the appointed evening the woman who has been fasting the whole day is brought to the *deonrā* or *māti* (or the *māti* is called to the woman's house). Some *gulāichi* flowers, *bael* leaves, *tulsi* leaves, a little reddish earth from a hearth, a little rice-flour, a little *lohban* (iron slag), and a jungle-root called *rāsni* are placed before the *māti*. The *māti* strings together the flowers and leaves into a garland and puts it on the neck of the woman and dishevels her hair.

Then he draws a diagram on the ground with the coal-dust, rice-flour and hearth-earth in the shape of three concentric parallelograms with their eastern arms wiped off. The outermost lines are made of the earth from the hearth and are thus reddish in colour, the intermediate lines with rice-flour, and are thus white in colour, and the innermost lines with coal-dust and are thus black. This figure (called *pinr*) represents three concentric compartments with openings on the east. This diagram is called the *pinr* or altar of the ceremony. On the inner side of the innermost lines, other lines are drawn with coal-dust, and on the outer side of the outermost lines similar lines are drawn with *chulāmāti* (earth from a hearth).

In the innermost compartment three handfuls of rice are

¹ Persons of the male sex are not generally "possessed" but cases have been known in which this has happened and the man affected has been made to sit like a *kumāri*.

placed a little apart from one another ; over each handful of rice are placed one *tulsi* leaf and one bit of *rāsu* root. These are now covered over with a circular plate made of *sāl* leaves joined together. Outside, but close to the diagram, towards its south-east are placed a tile (*khapra*) with fire on it, a bit of copper (generally pice) and a lighted earthen lamp. A *gūlaichi* flower and a *bael* leaf are placed on each petal-like compartment of the outermost and innermost lines of the diagram.

Now the woman circumambulates the diagram three times, commencing from the lamp and finally returning to it. Then she bows down before the diagram (*pinḍ*) and sits down on the sal-leaf-plate placed over the three handfuls of rice in the innermost compartment of the diagram, with the palms of her hands joined together and three *gūlaichi* flowers strung on a reed and some *āruā* rice are put inside her folded palms. A quantity of frankincense is from time to time sprinkled on the fire on the tile, so that large curls of smoke fill the place. The *matī* squats on the ground before the lamp in front of the diagram, his disciples sitting by his side.

III. Invocation (Sumirana.)

Now commences what is called *sumirānā* or invocation to the spirits. The disciples of the *māti* go on singing invocations in chorus the whole night through, and at the same time go on pressing with their hands some rice placed on two or three winnowing-baskets (*sūṛ*). Most of these invocations are in local Hindi, and only in a few Orāon words are interspersed with the Hindi.¹

A few specimens of these songs of invocation to local and other deities and powers are given below :—

Sumirānā karu guru sumirānā karu deo,²

Aj utar dakhin ke sumirānā karu deo.

¹ As the majority of our readers will find no difficulty in understanding the dialect of Hindi in which all the invocations given below are worded, English translations of them are not appended.

² Each couplet is repeated twice.

Sumirānā karu guru sumirānā karu deo,
Aj purub pachīm ke sumirānā karu deo.
Sumirānā karu guru sumirānā karu deo,
Aj Gāōnā deoti ke sumirānā karu deo.
Sumirānā karu guru sumirānā karu deo,
Aj Bāre Dārḥā ke sumirānā karu deo.
Sumirānā karu guru sumirānā karu deo,
Aj Khokho Dārḥā ke sumirānā karu deo.
Sumirānā karu guru sumirānā karu deo,
Aj Bucha Dārḥā ke sumirānā karu deo.
Sumirānā karu guru sumirānā karu deo,
Aj Loto Gāṛḥā ke sumirānā karu deo.
Sumirānā karu guru sumirānā karu deo,
Aj Masān Sādhak ke sumirānā karu deo.
Sumirānā karu guru sumirānā karu deo,
Aj Bāghout deotā ke sumirānā karu deo.
Sumirānā karu guru sumirānā karu deo,
Aj Sāto Khaṇḍi ke sumirānā karu deo.
Sumirānā karu guru sumirānā karu deo,
Aj Hehel Dāṇḍi ke sumirānā karu deo.
Sumirānā karu guru sumirānā karu deo,
Aj Chundru Khāoa ke sumirānā karu deo.
Sumirānā karu guru sumirānā karu deo,
Aj Paina Pātarke sumirānā karu deo.
Sumirānā karu guru sumirānā karu deo,
Aj Khijriā Pāhār ke sumirānā karu deo.
Sumirānā karu guru sumirānā karu deo,
Aj Sindriā Pāhār ke sumirānā karu deo.
Sumirānā karu guru sumirānā karu deo,
Aj Koel Muṇḍā ke sumirānā karu deo.
Sumirānā karu guru sumirānā karu deo,
Aj Lutma ghāt ke sumirānā karu deo.
Sumirānā karu guru sumirānā karu deo,
Aj Ghera Pāhār ke sumirānā karu deo.
Sumirānā karu guru sumirānā karu deo,
Aj Hundru ghāg ke sumirānā karu deo.

Sumirānā karu guru sumirānā karu deo,
 Aj Siār Latāke sumirānā karu deo.
 Sumirānā karu guru sumirānā karu deo,
 Aj Bheri Lātā ke sumirānā karu deo.
 Sumirānā karu guru sumirānā karu deo,
 Aj Bāgh Lātā ke sumirānā karu deo.
 Sumirānā karu guru sumirānā karu deo,
 Aj Daldālia pokhar ke sumirānā karu deo,—

and so on naming every *spirit* whose name comes to the mind of any of the singers. Then follows the following *rasni* song ;—

Āj utar dakhinke *hānkar* hāi
 Sunu sunu Bisnu Barmā ;
 Aj gaona deoti ke *hānkar* hāi
 Sunu sunu Bisnu Barmā.

And so on *ad infinitum* naming every deity and local or general spirit by turn as in the “sumirānā” songs.

Sometimes the *māti* or *deonrā* all this time goes on muttering the names of spirits and deities, etc., as follows :—

Eh Bhagwan, Eh Bhagwan, heṭhe panch upre
 Parmeswar, He Būrhā Būrhī, he Gāon Deoti
 Dhantarguru-Dhantarguru-Dhantarguru !
 Māhdeo mantri, mahdeo mantri, mahdeo mantri !
 Ram Lachman ke doe kartā hāi,
 Ram Lachman ke doe kartā hāi
 Ram Lachman ke doe kartā hāi.
 Kalikātā Kālimāi ke doe kartā hāi,
 Luglugnain ke doe kartā hāi,
 Bar Lugu kā doe kartā hāi.
 He Sātpāhāria pokhrā ke doe kartā hāi,
 He Basiātanr Rājā ke doe kartā hāi,
 He Peroāghag ke doe kartā hāi,
 He Chundrukhāoa ke doe kartā hāi,
 He Palkōt Thongālātā Najhar pāni ke doe kartā hāi,
 He Berō Mahādāniā ke doe kartā hāi.

When the *bhut* is supposed to be present, it is sought to tickle and please the *bhut* and make him possess the woman (*kujri*).

IV. *Rasni*.

This is known as the *Rasni* ceremony. This consists of singing a number of songs calculated to tickle the *bhut* and thus tempt it into self-revelation.

They begin by recapitulating the names of all the spirits they can think of. Thus they sing :—

Kā dei e sumiro guru guruāin mātā, sūn deo bhāi ;
 Kā dei e sumiro manā chitā lāgi, sūn deo bhāi ;
 Bare Dārḥā ke guru guruāin mātā, sūn deo bhāi ;
 Gāoa Deoti ke guru guruāin mātā, sūn deo bhāi ;
 Kā dei e sumiro manāchitā lāgi, sūn deo bhāi ;
 Khokho Dārḥā ke guru guruāin mātā, sūn deo bhāi ;
 Kā dei e sumiro manā chitā lāgi, sūn deo bhāi ;
 Bucha Dārḥā ke guru guruāin mātā, sūn deo bhāi ;
 Kā dei e sumiro manāchitā lāgi, sūn deo bhāi ;
 Lāto Gārḥā ke guru guruāin mātā, sūn deo bhāi ;
 Kā dei e sumiro manāchitā lāgi, sūn deo bhāi ;
 Masān sūdhak ke guru guruāin mātā, sūn deo bhāi ;
 Kā dei e sumiro manāchitā lāgi, sūn deo bhāi ;
 Bāghout deota ke guru guruāin mātā, sūn deo bhāi ;
 Kā dei e sumiro manāchitā lāgi, sūn deo bhāi ;
 Sāto khaṇḍi ke guru guruāin mātā, sūn deo bhāi ;
 Kā dei e sumiro manāchitā lāgi, sūn deo bhāi ;
 Hehel Ḍaṇḍai ke guru guruāin mātā, sūn deo bhāi ;
 Kā dei e sumiro manāchitā lāgi, sūn deo bhāi ;
 Hindi Pāḥār ke guru guruāin mātā, sūn deo bhāi ;
 Kā dei e sumiro manāchitā lāgi, sūn deo bhāi ;
 Chundru Khāoa ke guru guruāin mātā, sūn deo bhāi ;
 Kā dei e sumiro manāchitā lāgi, sūn deo bhāi ;
 Paena Pāḥār ke guru guruāin mātā, sūn deo bhāi ;
 Kā dei e sumiro manāchitā lāgi, sūn deo bhāi ;
 Khijria Pāḥār ke guru guruāin mātā, sūn deo bhāi ;
 Kā dei e sumiro manāchitā lāgi, sūn deo bhāi ;
 Sindria Pāḥār ke guru guruāin mātā, sūn deo bhāi ;
 Kā dei e sumiro manāchitā lāgi, sūn deo bhāi ;
 Koel Mundā ke guru guruāin mātā, sūn deo bhāi

Kā dei e sumiro manāchitā lagi, sūn deo bhāi ;
 Lutma Ghāt ke guru guruāin mātā, sūn deo bhāi ;
 Kā dei e sumiro manāchitā lagi, sūn deo bhāi ;
 Gher Pāhār ke guru guruāin mātā, sūn deo bhāi ;
 Kā dei e sumiro manāchitā lagi, sūn deo bhāi ;
 Huṇḍru ghāg ke guru guruāin mātā, sūn deo bhāi ;
 Kā dei e sumiro manāchitā lagi, sūn deo bhāi ;
 Siār Lātā ke guru guruāin mātā, sūn deo bhāi ;
 Kā dei e sumiro manāchitā lagi, sūn deo bhāi ;
 Bheri Lātā ke guru guruāin mātā, sūn deo bhāi ;
 Kā dei e sumiro manāchitā lagi, sūn deo bhāi ;
 Bagh Lātā ke guru guruāin mātā, sūn deo bhāi ;
 Kā dei e sumiro manāchitā lagi, sūn deo bhāi.

They go on repeating similar invocations *ad infinitum*.

After this any number of "Kumāri" songs are sung in chorus by the disciples with a view to induce a sense of good-fellowship with the spirit-world. Each song is repeated several times, and all the time two or three of their disciples continue pressing rice with their hands in a winnowing basket. Here are a few samples of these "Kumāri" songs :—

- (1) Āndinā Gangā māi, hālākīrē mālākī ;
 Ājitō Gangā māi, bahālāre khidor,
 Dhasnāke mātī, baba, Giripāri ho,
 Ajitō Gangāmāi, bahālāre khidor.
- (2) Betā chirīē chir, maṇḍāiā chharāoāl,
 Betā chirīe chir, maṇḍāiā chharāoāl.
 Bātā bātā khosālo, sindurākā puriā,
 Bātā bātā khosālo, kājerā ke puriā.
- (3) Jhilmili pokhar, bābā, kamlā ka phul, ho ;
 Tahāi dākin karāiā āsnān ;
 Mār bonge dākin deoa,
 Phul kāsī singār bhāiā.
- (4) Jhāṭi dhaīr dhaīr tilā lāoa, nupre larang bāns ;
 Parbat nupre nāgin doloī, doloī sabkār kām.
- (5) Halumāna bir Lankā-pāre, halumāna bir Lankā-pāre,
 Dāri Dāri khelu halumāna, pāte pāte nāchu halumāna.

- (6) Air täre täre nāi-lērē sādhak ;
Air lāgo, gohāir lāgo,
Air täre täre nāi-lerc sādhak.
- (7) Sup lele na, lege Domin-beṭi ;
Ke detou supaker dān ,
Mahal bhitar-se niksābae, Kāli māi
Sehi detou supāker dān.
- (8) Lujur lujur nāche bāndāre hāṭia,
Khowr bhule gele bira he Kerājharīa ;
Nagar bhule gele bira ho Kerājharīa.
- (9) Fulā jana tōr, āilo rāilo dāri janam,
Bhāng āilo bābā, Kāl Bhairo na gelan, bābā
Chānchal chite Bhīro chal gael.
- (10) Pahilē to bāndo ho Guru bābā,
Mātā pitāker pāo ;
Taba leke bando ho Guru bābā,
Dhartire ākāsh
Pahilē bando ho Guru bābā, Guru gurāin ke pāo ;
Taba leke bando ho Guru bābā, dāin bisāhi ke pāo.

The *chelās* go on singing any number of such songs, until the woman begins to shake her head. This shaking of the head is a sure indication that she is "possessed" by the offended spirit. After this the *chelās* go on singing as follow :—

Ehi gāonā ke deoā dharam guru,
Nāoa nehi jānāli tōhār,
Kānchenā dudhe Guru, pao pakhāri tohār,
Seōa lāgere hāmār.
Ehi gāonā ke Bāre Dārkhāke,
Nāoa nāhi jānāli tōhār,
Kānchenā dudhe guru, pao pakhāri tōhār,
Seōa lāgere hāmār.
Ehi gāoa ke gāoa deoti ke
Nāoa nāhi jānāli tōhār,
Kānchenā dudhe guru pao pakhāri tōhār,
Seōa lāgērē hāmār.

Ehi gāoā ke khokhō Dārḥā
 Nāoa nāhi jānālī tōhār,
 Kānchenā dudhe guru pāo pākhāri tōhār
 Seoā lāgore hāmār.
 Ehi gāoā ke Buchā Dārḥā,
 Nāoa nāhi jānālī tōhār,
 Kānchenā dudhi guru pāo pākhāri tōhār,
 Seoā lāgere hāmār.
 Ehi gāoā ke Lōtā Gārḥā,
 Nāoa nāhi jānālī tōhār,
 Kānchenā dudhe guru pāo pākhāri tōhār,
 Seoā lāgere hāmār.
 Ehi gāoā ke Masān sādḥak,
 Nāoa nāhi jānālī tōhār,
 Kānchenā dudhe guru pāo pākhāri tōhār,
 Seoā lāgere hāmār.
 Ehi gāoā ke Bāghout Deotā,
 Nāoa nāhi jānālī tōhār,
 Kānchenā dudhe guru pāo pākhāri tōhār,
 Seoā lāgere hāmār.

And so on he goes naming every local spirit that the singers can think of.

And now the *māṭī*, or one of his advanced disciples, asks her "Who has done this?" The women replies, "So-and-so (naming the witch) has afflicted me (nāslai) at such and such a place." "What things will be required now?" She names the number and kind of animals or fowls or both that the *bhūt* demands. Then she is asked, "Where does the *singī* (the iron tube in which the *bhūt* will be enclosed) want to go?" "Where will the *tiklī* go?" She names either the house of the witch who has instigated the *bhūt*, or some other place such as a new embankment or similar spot. After this the *māṭī* or a disciple places on the ground three copper pice and on each pice a bit of turmeric and a pinch of salt. The woman is made to take up from the ground each pice (along with the turmeric and salt) with her teeth, bite and chew them and then spit on the ground.

V. Bandhni Spirit.

The *māti* or one of his disciples now ties up the woman's hair in a knot, and takes a handful of dust which he drops little by little on her head, while reciting the following *bandhī* formula :—

Ghōnt ghōnt bajar ghōnt ;
 Kōnduāre lāge tāli,
 Kān puchhte kān bāndho,
 Mar murke durā bāndho,
 Āpan pinr, karnik pinr, bāchia bāndho,
 Ke bāndhē ? Guru bāndhē ;
 Gurukē āgge hām bāndhi.
 Ēk bāchiā, du bāchiā ;
 Bāchiā mōr nei mānbe tō,
 Narak-kūnd chāmār-kūnd dhukur mē paṛbē.
 Ai, dāṇṭike khunṭike muṭkē dhiṭkē
 Laṛkē lāgāolkē, singākē bhūiākē
 Najarkē gujarkē gūnke bānkē chhārākē
 Chhitāngākē hisāngākē potāngākē muddaikē
 Būdikē chalākē bhulākē, ke bāndhē ? Guru bāndhē.
 Guruke āggē hām bāndhi. Ekbāchiā dubāchia,
 Batia mōr nei mānbe tō, narak-kund chāmār-kund
 Dhukur mē paṛbē. Gharkē duārikē chārikē pichhoārikē
 Khosalkē peshal kē gaṛalkē topalkē khorkē bāṭkē
 Simānkē satarkē gaṛalkē ganjkē Dārḥākē Deswālikē
 Ulat gūnikē Lilourikē Churinkē Baimatkē Sarag bānikē
 Ke bāndhe ? Guru bandhe, guru ke āggē hām bāndhi,
 Ekbachia, dubachia, batia mor nei mānbe tō,
 Narak-kūnd, chamar-kūnd, dhukur mē paṛbē.
 Sing singte laṛkāri, balāoto tōke ōjhā pauchhē jak.
 Nirikh bāndho narak bāndho, hārgāṛ bāndho pargar bāndhō
 Ke bāndhē ? Guru bāndhē ; guru ke āgge hām bāndhi.
 Ekbāchiā dubāchiā bātiā mōr nei mānbe tō ;
 Narak-kund chamar-kund dhukur mē paṛbē.
 Ai dāṇṭike khunṭike muṭkē dhiṭkē etc. (repeats as before).

By such *bāndhi* (lit, tying-up) songs the woman's soul is believed to be held fast (*bāndhna*) so that the *rasni* (exhilaration) may be worn off.

VI. Rasni Utarna.

Now the *spirit* is made to get out of (*utārnā*) the body of the woman by the *matī* and his disciples singing in chorus as follows :—

Keshāchhē lāmbal rasni muṇḍa bhāri,
 Lambhūr lambhūr rasni, rāhi rasni.
 Muṇḍāsē lāmbal rasni, kapāl bhāri,
 Lambhur lambhur rasni rāhi rasni ;
 Kapārse lambal rasni ānkhi bhāri,
 Lambhur lambhur rasni rāhi rasni.
 Ānkhisē lāmbhur rasni nākā bhāri
 Lambhur lambhur rasni rāhi rasni.
 Nākāsē lambal rasni muḥā bhāri,
 Lambhur lambhur rasni rāhi rasni,
 Muhāsē lāmbal rasni dāntā bhāri,
 Lambhur lambhur rasni rāhi rasni,
 Dāntāsē lambal rasni jihā bhāri,
 Lambhur lambhur rasni rāhi rasni,
 Jihāsē lāmbal rasni lātoa bhāri,
 Lambhur lambhur rasni rāhi rasni,
 Lāṭōāsē lambal rasni gheṭu bhāri,
 Lāmbhur lāmbhur rasni rāhi rasni,
 Gheṭusē lāmbal rasni ghechā bhāri
 Lambhur lambhur rasni rāhi rāsni,
 Ghechāsē lāmbal rasni chhāti bhāri,
 Lāmbhūr lāmbhūr rasni rāhi rasni,
 Chhātisē lāmbal rasni dāṇḍā bhāri,
 Lāmbhur lāmbhur rasni rāhi rasni,
 Dāṇḍāsē lambal rasni jāngā bhāri
 Lāmbhur lāmbhur rasni rāhi rasni,
 Jāngāsē lāmbal rasni theonā bhāri
 Lambhur lāmbhur rasni rāhi rasni,
 Theonāsē lāmbal rasni ghāṭā bhāri

Lāmbhur lāmbhur rasni rāhi rasni,
 Ghāṭāsē lāmbal rasni neri bhāri
 Lāmbhūr lāmbhūr rasni rāhi rasni,
 Nerise lāmbal rasni tāroā bhāri,
 Lāmbhūr lāmbhūr rasni rāhi rasni
 Tārōāsē lāmbal rasni āngri bhāri
 Lāmbhūr lāmbhur rasni rāhi rāsni,
 Nanglise lāmbal rasni nāā bhāri
 Lambhūr lāmbhur rasni rāhi rasni,
 Naa-se lāmbal rasni dharti bhāri,
 Lāmbhūr lāmbhūr rasni rāhi rasni.

Thus is the spirit conducted from the hair of the patient to the head, from the head to the forehead, from the forehead to the eyes, from the eyes to the nose, from the nose to the mouth, from the mouth to the teeth, from the teeth to the tongue, from the tongue to the lips, from the lips to the neck, from the neck to the shoulders, from the shoulders to the chest, from the chest to the waist, from the waist to the thigh, from the thigh to the leg, from the leg to the ankles, from the ankles to the heels, from the heels to the soles of the feet, from the soles to the toes and, finally, from the toes through the toe-nails into the earth. Similarly, as if it to make sure that no portion of the spirit substance may be left behind in any part of the body, the same process is repeated in another direction, namely, from the head and face to the neck and shoulders, from the shoulders to the armpits, from the armpits along the elbows and wrist down to the palms of the hand, and thence out through the nails into the earth below.

Thus is the *spirit* sent down into the earth underneath which is its proper habitation. So long as the *rasni* has been on her, the woman has not been in her normal state of mind. The woman gets up from her seat, goes home and breaks her fast. The *māti* dictates to her people the sacrifices required to propitiate the offended spirit (*bhut*). When the woman's people have been able to procure the proper sacrifices, a day is appointed according to the convenience of the *māti* for exorcising the

but. The ceremonies connected with this exorcism are the following :—

On the appointed evening the *kumāri baiṭhana* ceremony is commenced as on the previous occasion by making the woman sit in the same fashion on an exactly similar diagram drawn on the ground. Then the same method of *sumirana* (invocation of all the spirits), and *rasāna* (tickling the particular spirit in question with ticklish songs and thereby inducing the spirit to manifest itself) are gone through and the same songs beginning “sumirānā karu deo ; kadeich sumero guru, and Ehi gāoake deoa dharam guru” are sung in chorus as on the previous occasion. When the signs of possession are apparent, the following *dān* song (song relating to the sacrifices) is sung in chorus—

Lākā lākā painr uge Barma deo,
 Lambi lambi tōr kesh
 Dhichua je bole ho guru bābā,
 Bherao paṭhia lagi.
 Lākā lākā painr uge Barma deo,
 Lākā lākā painr ugē Barmā deo,
 Lāmbi lāmbi tōr kesh ;
 Gōṇḍori je bōlē hē guru bābā
 Chhāonāoā paṭhiā lāgi
 Lākā lākā painr ugē Barmā deo,
 Lambi lambi tōr kesh ;
 Dhechua je bōlē hō guru bābā,
 Pāthia pāthia lāgi,
 Lākā lākā painr ugē Barmā deo,
 Lāmbi lāmbi tōr kesh ;
 Gōṇḍōri je bōlē hō guru bābā,
 Ranguā pāthiā lāgi,
 Lākā lākā painr ugē Barmā deo,
 Lambi lambi tōr kesh ;
 Dhechuā je bōlē hō guru bābā
 Mālao pāthiā lāgi
 Lākā lākā painr ugē Barmā deo,
 Lambi lambi tōr kesh ;

Gōṇḍōri jē bōlē hō guru bābā,
 Lohjair pāthiā lāgi
 Lākā lākā painr ugē Barma deo,
 Lambi lambi tōr kesh ;
 Dhechuā je bōlē hō guru bābā
 Risāoa pāthiā lāgi,
 Lākā lākā painr ugē Barmā deo,
 Lambi lambi tōr kesh ;
 Gōṇḍōri jē bōlē hō guru bābā
 Charkāoa pāthiā lāgi
 Lākā lākā painr ugē Barmā deo,
 Lambi lambi tōr kesh ;
 Dhechuā jē bōlē hō guru bābā,
 Kabutar pāthiā lāgi,
 Lākā lākā painr ugē Barmā deo,
 Lambi lambi tōr kesh ;
 Gōṇḍōri jē bōlē hō guru bābā,
 Sindura pāthiā lāgi
 Lākā lākā painr ugē Barmā deo,
 Lambi lambi tor kesh ;
 Dhechuā je bōlē hō guru bābā,
 Chhaonia pāthiā lagi
 Lākā lākā painr ugē Barmā deo,
 Lambi lambi tor kesh ;
 Gōṇḍōri jē bōlē hō guru bābā
 Churia pāthiā lagi
 Lākā lākā painr ugē Barmā deo,
 Lambi lambi tōr kesh
 Dhechuā jē bōlē hō guru bābā
 Singhiā pāthiā lāgi.

VII. Singar Utrana.

The next operation is known as the "singar *utārna*" (taking down or discharging the exhilaration). The process consists of two parts : first, the spirit is conducted from the hair, through the different parts of the face, neck, shoulders, armpit, elbow, wrist down to the hand and thence out from

the nails into the earth. The means employed in doing this is the singing in chorus songs like the following :—

Keshāoā keshāoā, Birāji gē mainā,
 Keshāoākē chhōr māyā mōh ;
 Hō gē māina, Keshāoākē chhōr māyā mōh.
 Muṇḍāoā muṇḍāoā, Birāji mainā,
 Muṇḍāoa kē chhōru māyā mōh ;
 Hōge mainā, muṇḍāoākē chhōr māyā mōh.
 Kapārā kapārā, Birājigē mainā,
 Kapārā kē chhōru māyā mōh ;
 Hōge mainā, kapārākē chhōru māyā mōh.
 Sindurā sindurā, Birāji gē maina,
 Sindurā-kē chhōru māyā mōh ;
 Hōgē māina, sindurā-kē chhōru māyā mōh.
 Tōkōli tōkōli, Birāji gē mainā,
 Tōkōli-kē chhōru māyā mōh ;
 Hōge mainā, tōkōlikē chhōru māyā mōh.
 Kānāoā kānāoā, Birāji mainā,
 Kānōākē chhōru māyā mōh ;
 Hōgē mainā, kānōākē chhōru māyā mōh.
 Ānkhīā ānkhīā Birāji gē mainā,
 Ānkhīake chhōru māyā mōh ;
 Hōge mainā, ānkhīake chhōru māyā mōh.
 Muhāoā muhāoā, Birāji hō gē māina,
 Muhāoā-kē chhōru māyā mōh ;
 Hōgē māina, muhāoakē chhōru māyā mōh.

VIII. Singar-saprana.

Now the *matī* and his disciples tell the *bhut* in songs like the following that it is time he should be off. This part of the business is called “singār”; the operation begins with the following song sung in chorus.

Kabrā bheroā deiē bhut samjhāe,
 Chhāonā deiē bhut samjhāe,
 Sāpārurē dewān kirānikā jhalmal berā ;
 Pāthia deiē bhut samjhāe.

Sapārurē dewān kirānkā jhalmal bera,
 Rangua deiē bhut samjhāe.
 Sapārurē dewān kirānikā jhalmal bera,
 Māla deiē bhut samjhāe.
 Sapārurē dewān kirānikā jhalmal berā,
 Lohjāir deiē bhut samjhāe.
 Sapārurē dewān kirānika jhalmal berā,
 Risāoa deiē bhut samjhāe.
 Sapārurē dewān kirānikā jhilmil berā ;
 Charkāoa deiē bhut samjhāe.
 Sapārurē dewān kirānika jhilmil berā ;
 Kabutar deiē bhut samjhāe.
 Sapārurē dewān kirānikā jhalmal berā ;
 Sindur deiē bhut samjhāe.
 Sapārurē dewān kirānikā jhalmal berā ;
 Chaonriā deiē bhut samjhāe.
 Sapārurē dewān kirānikā jhalmal berā ;
 Churia deiē bhut samjhāe.
 Sapārurē dewān kirānikā jhalmal berā ;
 Singia deiē bhut samjhāe.
 Sapārurē dewān kirānikā jhalmal berā ;
 Hēgē mainā, dāṇḍāokē chhōru māyā mōh.
 Jāngāoa jāngāoa, birājigē mainā,
 Jāngoākē chhōru māyā mōh,
 Hēgē mainā, jāngoākē chhōru māyā mōh.
 Ṭhemenā ṭhemenā, birājigē mainā,
 Ṭhemenākē chhōru māyā mōh ;
 Hēgē mainā, ṭhemenākē chhōru māyā mōh.
 Ghātāoa ghātāoa, birājigē mainā,
 Ghātāoākē chhōru māyā mōh,
 Hēgē mainā, ghātāoākē chhōru māyā mōh.
 Neriā neriā, birājigē mainā,
 Neriākē chhōru māyā mōh ;
 Hēgē mainā, neriākē chhōru māyā mōh.
 Sopāli sopāli, Birājigē mainā,
 Sopālikē chhōru māyā mōh,

Hēgē mainā, sopālike chhōṛu māyā mōh.
 Nāngri nāngri, birājige mainā,
 Nāngrikē chhōṛu māyā mōh ;
 Hēgē mainā, nāngrike chhōṛu māyā mōh.
 Nāhā nēhā, birājigē mainā,
 Nah-ke chhōṛu māyā mōh ;
 Hēgē mainā, nah-ke chhōṛu māyā mōh.

Thus, the spirit is expelled from the upper part of the body out through the nails. Should, however, any portion of the spirit-stuff yet cling to the patient, this is supposed to be removed by the second part of the operations by which the remaining limbs are also similarly treated and the spirit or such portion of it as may still cling to the patient is expelled through the collar-bone down the chest and the waist out through the heels, toes, and toe-nails into the earth. The song sung to effect this is the following :—

Nitilā nitilā Birāji ge mainā,
 Nitilā-kē chhōṛu māyā mōh ;
 Hēgē mainā, mitilā-kē chhōṛu māyā mōh.
 Mālāoā malāoā, Birāji ge mainā,
 Mālāoākē chhōṛu māyā mōh ;
 Hēgē mainā, mālāoā-kē chhōṛu māyā mōh.
 Hānsāliā hānsāliā, Birāji gē mainā,
 Hānsāli-kē chhōṛu māyā mōh ;
 Hēgē mainā, hānsāli-kē chhōṛu māyā mōh.
 Pānjerā pānjerā, Birājigō mainā
 Pānjerā-kē chhōṛu māyā mōh ;
 Hēgē mainā, pānjerāke chhōṛu māyā mōh.
 Lugāoā lugāoā, Birājigō mainā,
 Lugāoākē chhōṛu māyā mōh ;
 Hēgē mainā, lugāoā-kē chhōṛu māyā mōh.
 Ancherā āncherā, Birājigo mainā,
 Ancherākē chhōṛu māyā mōh ;
 Hēgē mainā, āncherā-kē chhōṛu māyā mōh.
 Fudenā fudenā, Birājigo mainā,
 Fudenā-kē chhōṛu māyā mōh ;

Hēgē mainā, fudenāke chhōru māyā mōh.
 Dāṇḍāoā-dāṇḍāoā, birājigē mainā,
 Dāṇḍāoā-kē chhōru māyā mōh,
 Dāntāoā dāntāoā, Birājigē mainā,
 Dāntāoā-kē chhōru māyā mōh ;
 Hēgē mainā, dantāoākē chhōru māyā mōh.
 Jihāoā jihāoā, birājigē mainā,
 Jihāoākē chhōru māyā mōh ;
 Hōgē mainā jihāoākē chhōru māyā mōh.
 Lātoā lātoā, birājigē mainā,
 Lātoākē chhōru māyā mōh ;
 Hōgē mainā lātoākē chhōru māyā mōh.
 Gheṭuā gheṭuā, birājigē mainā,
 Gheṭuākē chhōru māyā mōh ;
 Hōgē mainā, gheṭuākē chhōru māyā mōh.
 Ghechāoā ghechāoā, birājigē mainā,
 Ghechāoā-kē chhōru māyā mōh ;
 Hōgē mainā, ghechāoā-kē chhōru māyā mōh.
 Khāndāoā khāndāoā, birāji-gē mainā,
 Khāndāoā-kē chhōru māyā mōh ;
 Hōgē mainā khāndāoā-kē chhōru māyā mōh.
 Khākhāoā khākhāoā, birājigē mainā,
 Khākhāoā-kē chhōru māyā mōh ;
 Hōgē mainā, khākhāoākē chhōru māyā mōh.
 Sōpōli sōpōli, birājigē mainā,
 Sōpōli-kē chhōru māyā mōh ;
 Hōgē mainā, sōpōlikē chhōru māyā mōh.
 Ghāthāoā ghāthāoā, birājigē mainā,
 Ghāthāoā-kē chhōru māyā mōh ;
 Hōgē mainā, ghāthāoākē chhōru māyā mōh.
 Taurhātā taurhātā, birājigē mainā,
 Taurhātā-kā chhōru māyā mōh,
 Hōgē mainā, taurhātākē chhōru māyā mōh.
 Nāhoā nāhoā, birājigē mainā,
 Nāhoākē chhōru māyā mōh ;
 Hōgē mainā, nāhoā-kē chhōru māyā mōh.

Then follows the following song :—

Bhālā bhālā *beroā* bigal gel māl,
 Te ter tārē māl lāmbā tārē ;
 Bhālā bhālā *chhāonā* bigāe gel māl,
 Te ter tārē māl lāmbā tārē ;
 Bhālā bhālā *pānthiā* bigāe gel māl,
 Te ter tārē māl lāmbā tārē ;
 Bhālā bhālā *rāngiā* bigāe gel māl,
 Te ter tārē māl lāmbā tārē ;
 Bhālā bhālā *mālā* bigal gel māl,
 Te ter tārē māl lāmbā tārē ;
 Bhālā bhālā *lohjāir* bigal gel māl,
 Te ter tārē māl lāmbā tārē ;
 Bhālā bhālā *rasāoa* bigal gel māl,
 Te ter tārē māl lāmbā tārē ;
 Bhālā bhālā *charkāoa* bigal gel māl,
 Te ter tārē māl lāmbā tārē ;
 Bhālā bhālā *kalntaro* bigal gel māl,
 Te ter tārē māl lāmbā tārē ;
 Bhālā bhālā *sīndur* bigal gel māl,
 Te ter tārē māl lāmbā tārē ;
 Bhālā bhālā *chāonria* bigal gel māl,
 Te ter tārē māl lāmbā tārē ;
 Bhālā bhālā *churia* bigal gel māl,
 Te ter tārē māl lāmbā tārē ;
 Bhālā bhālā *singia* begal gel māl,
 Te ter tārē māl lāmbā tārē.

Similar songs are sung until it is believed that the spirit has left the patient's body and entered the flame of the earthen lamp by the side of the diagram.

IX. Confining the Spirit.

Now the *mati* intently examines the flame of the lamp to make sure that the *spirit* is there, and then with a knowing look, as if to say "So, here you are", touches a wick with this flame, and the wick thus lighted is put into the *singhi* which is at once closed with an iron stopper. It is believed that the *spirit* passes into the

flame of the wick and is thus imprisoned inside the *singhi*. Some mud is then plastered over the stopper of the *singhi* to make all escape impossible for the spirit; a disciple of the *mati* takes up each victim with his hands and touches the feet of the sacrifice with the forehead of the patient. First the pig is taken up and the *mati* addresses the animal saying, "Etna din tō nām ūhtē rahis (i.e., all the people used to name you as the bhut who caused the mischief), chhāonā chhāonā ab apneke pān phul sab hajir bhelai; purna piñr chhor de; ham nawā piñr deothi. Aj taklē chela patike nām mat ūthiye. Aj taklē bhagat dura sōkhā dura nām mat ūthiye. Dāinkē kahna mat chaliyē, matike kahna chal. Kēkrō nām mat ūthiye."

Then on the ground *tulsi* leaves, mango leaves, arua rice, *haridi* (turmeric) and salt are placed together with three copper coins. The victims are fed with the rice, saying "Bhukhal sukhē chāul na khābe" (out of hunger don't eat dry rice).

Then the *spirit* is again tied down by the *bandhni* formula "Ghont ghont bajar ghont," etc. As the *bandhni* formula is being recited, another oiled wick similarly lighted is waved round the head of the pig. Then the victims are taken up one by one and similarly brought in contact with the forehead of the patient and similarly addressed (Etna din to nām ūhtē rahis, etc.) so on with each victim. Now that the *mati* and his disciples go to the boundary of an adjoining village with the victims to be sacrificed and with one *sup* (winnowing basket) (supplied by his *client*), one *supli* (small *sup*), one *mouni* (small bamboo cup) and the *singhi* and all the ornaments (everything, except the wearing cloth) that the woman did not take out before sitting as *kumari*. Arrived there, the animals and fowls are sacrificed. Sindur marks are put on the *supli* and *mouni*, and blood is dropped into them and these are all left there. A little of the blood of each sacrificed animal or fowl is dropped into the *singhi*. If the *kumari* so directs in her state of spirit-possession, the *singhi* is carried stealthily at dead of night to the house or some field (generally *nawa pinr* or newly reclaimed land) of the person who had instigated the

spirit against the present client of the *māti*, and there buried completely underground ; and the *tiklī*¹ on the forehead of the (*kumari*) client is either inserted into the wings of a pigeon which is taken outside the limits of the village and made to fly away or taken by the *māti* to a market and stealthily affixed to the clothes of some woman of the same age as the *kumari*. Anyone killing the pigeon, or to whose clothes the *tiklī* has been attached, will, it is believed, be possessed by the spirit in the *tiklī*. The reason for dropping the blood on the *singhi* was thus explained to me : “ It is for this drop of blood that the *bhut* has been so long causing all sorts of trouble. It gets hungry and so it acts like this. For its food the spirit must trouble the family in whose field or house it is located.” One main difference in the treatment of such (*shoāri* or *span*) *bhuts* and the *khunt bhuts* is that in the case of the latter no *singhi* is used but a seat or āsthān is given to it in the shape of only a *khunta* or wooden pole with a thin rod of iron pinned into its top, the upper part of the *khunta* sticking out above ground. The *singhi* of the *shoari* *bhut* is buried totally underground so that people may not see it and uproot it and thereby let loose the spirit again. The *bhut* goes away either in the *tiklī* or in the *singhi*, or in both, and so no *bhut* remains in the leavings.

Such are the various stages of the process of exorcism followed by the Chōtā Nāgpur spirit-doctor. In the first stage, as we have seen, the help of all spirits supposed to be beneficent, whether they be indigenous or foreign, that the spirit-doctor has known or heard of, is invoked. Among such spirits we hear the names of the spirits of various localities in their own country as well as of foreign lands, and the departed spirits of powerful ancient kings and sorcerers of their own country as well as of Hindu epic heroes like Ram and Lachman and the

¹ The *tiklī* (i.e., the *bhut* in the *tiklī*) is called *thapal bhut* or *nagan bhut*. If the person on whose wall the *singhi* is inserted happens to know of it while being inserted he beats generally the man so inserting. But when cases come to court plea of self-defence against a thief or some one such plea is taken and can't be made out.

father of Hindu Medicine known as Dhanwantari (" Dhantar guru "). The far-famed Hindu goddess Kali of Kalighat (" Kalikātā Kālimāi ") is not forgotten. In successive stages of the process the spirit who is responsible for the mischief is tickled into self-revelation, successively pursued from one part of the patient's body to another until completely expelled, and is then seized and confined in an iron-tube or *singhi*, and finally buried outside the limits of the village. These ceremonies bring out in clear relief the Chōtā Nāgpuri's semi-material conception of spirits.

**Proceedings of a Meeting of the Council
of the Bihar and Orissa Research
Society, held at the Society's Office
on the 15th April 1923.**

PRESENT.

The Hon'ble Mr. H. MacPherson, Vice-President (in the chair).

The Hon'ble Justice Sir B. K. Mullick.

Mr. V. H. Jackson.

„ G. E. Fawcus.

„ K. P. Jayaswal.

Dr. Harichand Shastri.

Mr. W. V. Duke, Treasurer.

„ E. A. Horne, General Secretary.

1. The proceedings of the last meeting of the Council, held on the 1st March 1923, were read and confirmed.

2. The following new members were elected :—

Dr. Lakshmana Swarupa (University of the Punjab).

Pandit Ramavatar Sharma (Patna College).

In view of the fact that a great many of the old members had resigned, or were on the point of resigning, the Secretary was instructed to circularize all members, assuring them that the three remaining parts of Volume VIII (1922) would be published, along with the current issues of the Journal, in the course of the present year.

3. Certain matters relating to the publication of the Journal were next considered and it was resolved as follows :—

- (i) That materials now in the hands of the Patna Law Press be reprinted in one issue (Part II of 1922) at the Government Press,

- (ii) That 400 copies be printed of the next and subsequent issues.
- (iii) That the full text of Mr. Manuk's address on Indian painting, as well as Mr. Page's on Nalanda (illustrated with eight or nine photographs) be printed in the next current issue of the Journal.
- (iv) That expenditure of Rs. 35 on a half-tone block for an article on Buddhist Iconography be approved.
- (v) That arrangements be made with the Government Press, if possible, to stock and issue the Journal; and that a small allowance be paid to a clerk at the Press for doing this work

4. Read Mr. Dain's letter No. 3926R., dated the 5th April 1923, on the subject of the publication of the Buchanan Journal with enclosures. It was resolved as follows :—

- (i) That the Bihar and Gaya Journals, together with Buchanan's descriptions of Patna City, be published in one double issue of the Society's Journal (Part III and IV of 1922); and that 1,000 extra copies be printed, it being understood that the Local Government will meet the cost of same.
- (ii) That Mr. Jackson be asked to write a short introduction by way of preface to this special double issue of the Journal.
- (iii) That the Secretary write to Sir David Prain, asking him whether he would contribute a memoir of Buchanan for publication in a subsequent issue of the Journal.
- (iv) That a spare copy of the Bhagalpur Journal be made at the expense of the Society.

5. Considered the location of the Society's office. Resolved that in addition to the two rooms allotted to the Society (vide Rai Bahadur Bishun Swarup's letter No. 2481, dated the 23rd February 1923, addressed to the Superintending Engineer, Eastern Circle), the Secretary ask for the use of the central room on the first floor allotted to the Museum. Resolved,

further, that the Secretary enquire of the Registrar of the High Court when the Society is likely to be required to vacate the present office.

6. Read letter No. 1164, dated the 25th January 1923, from the Government of Bihar and Orissa in the Revenue Department, with reference to the publication in the Society's Journal of a list of Oriya characters compiled by two Oriya scholars.

Resolved that the matter be referred, in the first instance, to the Vice-President for his opinion, and afterwards possibly to Sir George Grierson.

7. Considered the question of the spending of the Library grant.

Resolved that a Library Committee be appointed, consisting of the Editor (Mr. Jayaswal), the Treasurer and the General Secretary.

8. Considered audit note No. 221 of 1922-23 on the accounts of the Society for the year ending the 31st December 1922.

Resolved that the Treasurer look into the points raised, including those raised in previous audit reports not yet disposed of, and report.

9. Read a letter, dated the 11th April 1923, from Sir John Bucknill, President of the Museum Committee, with reference (a) to the appointment of the Curator of the Museum as Librarian of the Research Society ; (b) to the question whether, in the event of the Museum obtaining as its new premises the house facing the Maidan which was intended for the Bayley Memorial Library, the Research Society would like to occupy rooms adjoining and in connexion with these new premises.

The Secretary was instructed to write to Sir John Bucknill, informing him (a) that the appointment of a Librarian by the Council is in order and is the only procedure possible under the present rules ; but that it is proposed to amend the rules so as to include the Librarian among the office-bearers of the Society, and that Mr. Ghosh's name will be submitted for election at the next annual general meeting ; (b) that the Council approves, in principle, of the housing of the Museum and the Research

Society in the same building, and that the Society would like to occupy the rooms suggested provided that the accommodation offered is adequate.

10. Read a letter, dated the 27th March 1922, from Mr. Hitchcock, Superintendent of Police, Champaran, drawing the attention of the Society to certain discoveries made in village Juafar, Chouradano Police-station Champaran, which appear to be interesting from an antiquarian point of view.

Resolved that a copy of Mr. Hitchcock's letter be sent to the Curator of the Museum with the request that he will look into the matter.

E. A. HORNE,

Honorary General Secretar .

Proceedings of the Annual General Meeting of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, held on the 23rd March 1923 at 4-30 p.m. at Government House, Patna.

1. Dr. Hari Chand, Honorary General Secretary, presented the Annual Report for 1922 and it was taken as read.

2. The Hon'ble Justice Sir B. K. Mullick proposed the election of the following office-bearers and members of the Council for the year 1923 :—

PATRON.

His Excellency the Governor of Bihar and Orissa.

VICE-PATRONS.

The Hon'ble Maharajadhiraja Sir Rameshwara Singh,
G.C.I.E., K.B.E., of Darbhanga.

Maharaja Bahadur Sir Ravaneshwar Prasad Singh,
K.C.I.E., of Gidhour.

His Highness Maharaja Bahadur Sir Bir Mitrodaya
Singh Deo, K.C.I.E., of Sonapur State.

The Hon'ble Sir Thomas Frederick Dawson Miller,
KT., K.C.

Sir Edward Gait, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., PH.D., I.C.S. (retd.)

PRESIDENT.

His Excellency Sir Henry Wheeler, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.

VICE-PRESIDENT.

The Hon'ble Mr. H. MacPherson, C.S.I., I.C.S.

GENERAL SECRETARY.

E. A. Horne, Esq., M.A., I.E.S.

JOINT SECRETARY.

D. N. Sen, Esq., M.A., I.E.S.

TREASURER.

W. V. Duke, Esq., M.A., I.E.S.

JOURNAL COMMITTEE.

K. P. Jayaswal, Esq., M.A., Bar-at-Law.

Professor S. N. Mazumdar, M.A.

Dr. A. P. Banerji, M.A., D. PHIL.

Other members of the Council besides the President, the General Secretary and the Treasurer.

The Hon'ble Mr. H. MacPherson, C.S.I., I.C.S.

The Hon'ble Justice Sir B. K. Mullick, KT., I.C.S.

The Hon'ble Justice Sir John Bucknill, KT., K.C.

G. E. Fawcett, Esq., M.A., O.B.E.

The Hon'ble Mr. S. Sinha, Bar-at-Law.

Professor Jadunath Sarkar, M.A., I.E.S.

Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Ray, M.A., B.L., M.L.C.

Dr. Harichand Shastri, D.LITT., I.E.S.

K. P. Jayaswal, Esq., M.A., Bar-at-Law.

V. H. Jackson, Esq., M.A., I.E.S.

D. N. Sen, Esq., M.A., I.E.S.

Professor S. N. Mazumdar, M.A.

Rai Ramgopal Singh Chaudhuri Sahib.

3. Mr. J. A. Page read a paper on Nalanda.

4. His Excellency the President introduced Mr. Manuk, who exhibited a collection of Indian paintings and addressed the members thereon.

5. Rai Bahadur Purnendu Narayan Sinha proposed a vote of thanks to the chair.

H. CHAND.

**Proceedings of a Meeting of the Council of
Bihar and Orissa Research Society
held on the 1st March 1923 at 5 p.m.
at the Society's Office.**

1. Proceeding of the last meeting, held on the 2nd December 1922, were read and confirmed.

2. The following new members were elected :—

(1) Dr. A. Coomaraswamy.

(2) J. F. W. James, Esq., M.A., Bar.-at-Law.

3. The annual report of the Society for 1922 was considered and passed.

4. Resolved that the following office-bearers and members of the Council for 1923 be recommended to the Annual General Meeting to be held on the 23rd March 1923 :

PATRON.

His Excellency the Governor of Bihar and Orissa.

VICE-PATRON.

The Hon'ble Maharajadhiraja Sir Rameshwara Singh, G.C.I.E.,
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Rai Bangopal Singh Chaudhary Sahib.

5. A letter dated 24th January 1923 from Mr. Krishnamachariar, M.A., M.L., PH.D. asking for a loan of all the volumes of our Journal for a week only was considered and it was resolved that his request be refused.

H. CHAND.

Proceedings of a Meeting of the Council of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society held on the 22nd December 1922.

PRESENT.

Sir B. K. Mullick.

G. E. Fawcus, Esq.

D. N. Sen, Esq.

K. P. Jayaswal, Esq.

Professor G. S. Bhaté.

Dr. Hari Chand.

1. Resolved that the Hon'ble Mr. Sinha be asked to get the Government Press to print the Society's Journal.

2. Professor Bhaté being anxious to resign his post on the Editorial Committee, the Council suggest that the Editorial Committee do consist of Mr. Jayaswal, Dr. A. P. Banerji and Professor S. N. Majumdar Shastri.

3. The Council resolve that the General Meeting of the Society be held during University week in March.

4. Resolved that the Secretary do report whether any library books are missing.

5. Resolved that Mr. Jayaswal and Dr. Hari Chand be requested to see whether arrangements can be made to prepare an index of the manuscripts examined by the Pandit.

6. The Council record its approval of the proposal made by the Joint Committee for the amalgamation of the Society with the Museum and that Mr. Jackson be co-opted as a member of that Committee.

7. The following six new members were elected :—

(1) S. C. Mukharjee, Esq.

(2) H. N. Nandakeolliyar, Esq.

- (3) S. N. Sahai, Esq.
- (4) L. N. Dev Kavyabinoda, Esq.
- (5) Professor H. C. Rai Chaudhuri.
- (6) Professor S. N. Bhattacharya.

8. The Council resolve that the Hon'ble Sir Henry Wheeler be asked to take the Presidentship of the Society.

9. The Council resolve that the resignation of Mr. Samaddar as Treasurer be accepted and Mr. D. N. Sen be appointed in his place.

10. The Council resolve that the Curator of the Museum be asked to accept the Librarianship of the Society.

11. Considered a proposal by the Allahabad Historical Research Society for an exchange of journals. Resolved that the Allahabad Historical Society be informed that this Society has no objection to the exchange of journals without any cash payment.

12. Considered Mr. Jayaswal's proposal that the Society should take over his rights in 500 copies of *Rājanāṭi Ratnākara* on paying the balance of the printing costs due thereon which shall not exceed Rs. 100. The Council accept the proposal.

H. CHAND.

JOURNAL

OF THE

BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY.

VOL. IX]

1923.

[PART II.

LEADING ARTICLES.

I.—Chronology of the Sāṃkhya Literature.

By Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Shastri, C.I.E.

Sāṃkhya is the oldest system of Philosophy in India. I purposely use the word 'System' for there might have been philosophical speculations before Sāṃkhya, as we often find in the Brāhmaṇas, in which term, I include, according to the tradition of the Vedic pandits of India, both the Āraṇyakas and the Vedic Upaniṣads. But this is the first system of philosophy. The author Kapila is termed in classical Sanskrit as Ādividyān, the first learned man, the first philosopher, i.e. he was the first writer on philosophy after the Vedic Ṛṣis, just as Valmiki is termed as the Ādikavi, the first poet, though there were innumerable poets in the Vedic literature before him. In the Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad he is called Paramarṣi. Some scholars think that the Śvetāśvatara is a work of unknown date and of unknown origin. But this is not the case; it is not one of the non-descript Upaniṣads which generally go by the name of Ātharvaṇa Upaniṣads (though some think that the Śvetāśvatara belongs to the Ātharvaṇa Class),— it really belongs to the Śvetāśvatara Śakhā of the Yajurveda. Yajur-

veda has 86 Śākhās of which Śvetāśvatara is one, and an Upaniṣad belonging to a Śākhā of Yajurveda cannot be termed as non-descript; and it is not of so uncertain a date as some scholars think. It belongs to the end of the Vedic Age and must therefore be Pre-Buddhistic. The word "Paramarṣi" is also an indication of the antiquity of the author. Latterly there was a hierarchy of Ṛṣis, namely, Ṛṣi Maharṣi, Rājārṣi, Devarṣi, and Bhahmarṣi. But Paramarṣi does not belong to this hierarchy and the term seems to have been used as an epithet of Kapila before the idea of the hierarchy was started; and it is a peculiar word rarely met with in Sanskrit literature except in connexion with Kapila. His followers used to be called "Pāramarṣāḥ."

There are other reasons to think that the Sāmkhya belonged to high antiquity, for instance, Kauṭilya, a contemporary of Alexander the Great, speaks of three systems of philosophy only, Sāmkhya, Yoga, and Lokāyata. Yoga, as all of us know, depends on the Sāmkhya System.

The followers of Sāmkhya are called "Parivrājakas" (Śāddarśana Samuccaya, page 95) and the Parivrājakas belonged to a period of Indian History before Buddha. Buddha's principal disciple, Śāriputra, in his early life was the disciple of a Parivrājaka (Mahāvastu-Avadana III 59) and the Lalita-Vistara often mentions (page 3 for instance) the Parivrājakas as coming in contact with Buddha.

Patañjali in his Mahābhāṣya mentions the Sāmkhyas. The Laṅkāvatārasūtra, one of the Pre-Mahāyāna sūtras of the Buddhists, mentions the Sāmkhya by name, and Aśvaghoṣa, one of the precursors of Mahāyāna, bases the whole Buddhist system of thought on the influence of the Sāmkhya. He says that both the teachers to whom Buddha applied for the solution of the problem of life, were followers of Kapila. The first teacher, Ādāra Kālāma, explained to him the system of Kapila and pointed out to him how the human soul in its upward march can reach Infinity of Space without losing Individuality. The second teacher, Uddaka Rāmaputra, led him still

further. But Buddha was not satisfied. He contended that if Individuality remained, one cannot attain absolute Nirvāṇa. So he studied and meditated for six years under the Bo-tree at Gayā and at last succeeded in destroying Individuality. He came to a state in which there would be no Saṃjñā and no Saṃjñī. Thus he supplied, as it were, the coping-stone to the arch of the Sāṃkhya system, and brought it to a transcendental height never contemplated by the founder of the system, Kapila himself. It may be argued that this is the idea of Āśvaghoṣa. But Āśvaghoṣa was one of the patriarchs of Buddhism. He was the Guru of Kāṇishka and as such flourished in the first or second century A.D. His opinion on a matter like this carry a good deal of weight.

Śaṅkarācāryya in the first pāda of the second adhyāya of his Brahmasūtra refutes at length the doctrine of the Sāṃkhyas. He considers them heterodox; but he is obliged to refute them because some great men, such as Manu, accepted them. So Śaṅkarācāryya considered the Sāṃkhyas to be very ancient, flourishing even before Manu.

All this is quite enough to establish the high antiquity of the Sāṃkhya system. But this sort of vague idea will not satisfy the students of the present day. They want definite information and it is definite information that I purpose to give within my limitations.

It is a well-known fact that the original sūtras of Kapila are lost with their bhāṣyas, commentaries, nay the whole literature based on them. What authentic literature remains, is confined to the seventy Kārikās of Īśvarakṛṣṇa, called in the Chinese Tripiṭaka, the Golden Seventy. The Chinese Tripiṭaka is mainly, nay exclusively, Buddhistic. But it contains a few important Hindu works too, one of them is the "Golden Seventy." Gauḍapāda, the precursor of Śaṅkara, writes a commentary on them, and to these Śaṅkara is indebted for all his ideas and quotations of the Sāṃkhya system of philosophy. Śaṅkara belonged to the early years of the ninth century and Gauḍapāda one generation earlier. But what is the age of Īśvarakṛṣṇa?

The question has been solved in a Chinese [work entitled the life of Vasubandhu written by an Indian monk named Paramārtha, who migrated to China at the end of the fifth century A.D. and there wrote the book. He informs us that Īśvarakṛṣṇa was a contemporary and rival of Vasubandhu, a Buddhist monk born in Peshawar and lived at the city of Oudh. He and his brother Asaṅga were the two pillars of the Mahāyāna faith in that century. They found a tough antagonist in Īśvarakṛṣṇa and it is said that Īśvarakṛṣṇa gained a reward of three lakhs of rupees by refuting the Buddhists, from the then reigning king, Balāditya.

So the work, entitled Īśvarakṛṣṇa-Kārikā is the sheet anchor of the chronology of the Sāmkhya Literature. Īśvarakṛṣṇa belonged to the fifth century A.D. and we have to go backwards and forwards in our quest of the dates of the Sāmkhya works. At the end of his work he gives us some information about the previous history of his system. The history is very meagre. But still it is authentic as coming from a man of Īśvarakṛṣṇa's stamp. He says this system of philosophy was taught by the founder, Paramarṣi to Āsuri and he gave it to Pañcasīkha who wrote many works. The names of Āsuri and Pañcasīkha are well known to every Brahmin, who cares to perform his daily ablutions, for he has to pour water every day for the benefit of certain Ṛṣis and these are,—Sanaka, Sananda, Sanātana, Kapila, Āsuri, Boḍhu and Pañcasīkha. But are they really historical persons? Sanaka, Sananda and Sanātana are mythical. Are the rest also mythical? The historicity of Kapila is never doubted. He is the founder of the Sāmkhya system and is called Paramarṣi. Āsuri and Pañcasīkha are both mentioned in the Mahābhārata and in that part of it which is really historical, commencing with such expressions as—

Tatrāpyudāharantimam itihāsam purāṇanam

There is a dialogue in the Śāntiparvan between Janaka and Pañcasīkha. Āsuri also is mentioned there. But we have more tangible proofs of their existence as authors. Guṇaratna, in his

commentary, page 104, gives a quotation from Āsuri on a vital question of the system and Pañcaśikha has been several times quoted in the Vyāsa Bhāṣya on the Yogasūtras.

Īśvarakṛṣṇa gives us another piece of information that with the exception of the stories (in support of the Sāmkhya Theory) and with the exception of the refutation of other systems his seventy Kārikās will give all that is to be found in the Śaṣṭitantra. So there was a work entitled Śaṣṭitantra, in which, not only were the Sāmkhya doctrines elaborated, but stories were given and refutations of other systems. But we know nothing more about the Śaṣṭitantra except a quotation in Gauḍapāda's commentary from that work and a summary of its contents in the Pañcaratna work entitled Ahirbudhna-samhita. There is however a body of sūtras divided into six chapters entitled Sāmkhya-Pravacana and commented upon by a scholar named Vijñāna Bhikṣu in the eleventh century, which contains a chapter on Ākhyāyikās (stories) and another on refutations. Cannot this Sāmkhya-Pravacana be the Śaṣṭitantra? But we know nothing of the Śaṣṭitantra beyond the only quotation and the enumeration of topics just referred to and the name which means "sixty topics" differently explained by different commentators. Was the Śaṣṭitantra in a sūtra form? We do not know. But the Pravacana is in sūtras. That the Pravacana is not the original Śaṣṭitantra is proved by its inclusion of a good many modern ideas. For instance, it calls the Advaita System by the name of Advaita, so it is not Śaṣṭitantra. It quotes the opinion of Pañcaśikha, so it cannot be the original sūtras of Kapila. All that can be said about its authenticity is that it is based upon Śaṣṭitantra, but has been altered and interpolated beyond recognition. But what is the authority of Īśvarakṛṣṇa? Does he follow an old tradition or does he give new interpretations to the Sāmkhya doctrine prevailing in his time? He simply says that all that is to be found in the Śaṣṭitantra is also to be found in his seventy Kārikās. This shows that he does not introduce any novelty but only follows an old tradition, and from whom does that tradition derive

its authority? The question is rather difficult to be solved for want of materials. I found, however, after a good deal of search, a manuscript of the Kārikās at the Jaina Upāśraya named Śrīpūjya in the city of Bikāner in which the Kārikās are described as Māṭhara Bhāṣya. From that I inferred that there was a body of Sāmkhya sūtras on which Māṭhara wrote a Bhāṣya and that Īśvarakṛṣṇa simply followed him. Curiously enough, Guṇaratna in enumerating the works of Sāmkhya literature says,—

Sāmkhyānām tarkagranthāḥ Saṣṭitanthroddhārārūpaṁ Māṭhara
bhāṣyaṁ Sāmkhyasaptatināmakaṁ,—

which accords perfectly with the ideas I imbibed at Bikāner. But before that I several times read that passage but could not understand it, as the Italian editor of Guṇaratna has put commas after “Saṣṭitanthroddhārāpaṁ” and after Māṭhara-bhāṣya. I was led to think that Guṇaratna speaks of three works. But Māṭharabhāṣya is not the seventy Kārikās. It has a separate existence, as Guṇaratna quotes in page 96.

तदुक्तं माठरग्रन्थे—ग्रन्थे being a misprint for ग्रन्थे)

इस पिव लल खाद पिव नित्यं

मुंक्ष्य च भोगान् यथाभिकामं ।

यदि विदितं ते कपिलमतं

तत् प्राप्स्यसि मोक्षदीप्यमचिरेण ॥

Professor Sylvain Levi tells us from Chinese sources that there were three learned men at the Court of Kāṇiṣka at the end of the first century A.D., (1) Āśvaghōṣa was his Guru, (2) Māṭhara, his prime-minister and (3) Caraka his chief physician. I am tempted to identify the Bhāṣyakāra Māṭhara with the prime-minister, because the other two of his contemporaries were both experts in the Sāmkhya. He also presumably was an expert too, and prime-ministers in ancient days were not averse to writing exhaustive and comprehensive works. But the great difficulty is to fix the individuality of the authors because Māṭhara and Caraka are Gotra names.

The question of the derivation of the word "Sāmkhya" was a difficult one. I did not understand whyt he system of Kapila should be named Sāmkhya. When asked, the pandits generally give a couplet in explanation which runs thus:—

संख्यां प्रकुर्वते यस्मात् प्रकृतिञ्च प्रचक्षते ।

तत्त्वानि च चतुर्विंशत् तस्मात् सांख्याः प्रकीर्त्तिताः ॥

Evidently the word "Sāmkhyā" means number, enumeration. But the pandits invariably explain it by Vivekakhyāti, the differentiation between the spirit and the matter, Prakṛti and Puruṣa. But Professor Garbe boldly translated the word as Enumeration and called the Sāmkhya System as the Enumerative System and not the Hylotheistic System as translated by Hall. That gave me some food for thought. It occurred to me that Kapila tried to fix philosophical ideas by numbers and my readings in the later Vedic literature confirmed me in my idea. I found that the Vedic writers were not very definite at their numbers. In enumerating the organs of sense they were not very definite about the number five. They would often say, Cakṣu, Śrotra, Ghrāṇa, Prāṇa, Vāk, etc. So also in the case of vital airs. They would sometimes say Prāṇa and Apāna; sometimes they would include Vyāna but rarely they would speak of the five vital airs. So I began to think that Kapila did a great service to Indian thought by fixing philosophical ideas by numbers. I found Buddha also did the same. He also fixes his ideas by numbers, Four Noble Truths, Eightfold Path to Arhatship and so on, and Buddha was a follower of Kapila. Mahāvīra also did the same and I am inclined to think that all the six heretical schools also followed the same method. All the ancient writers of India were, in this matter at least, the disciples of Kapila till Kanāda introduced a higher method of philosophizing, namely that of finding Sādharmya and Vaidharmya, similarity and dissimilarity, and it took several centuries to rise from enumeration to comparison. Comparison led to classification in which the earlier writers were very deficient.

In examining another section of Sāmkhya literature I found a confirmation of my ideas about numbers and this is what I am now going to give in detail. Outside the sūtras of the Sāmkhya-Pravacana and outside the seventy Kārikās, there is a small body of sūtras going under the name of Kapila. Their number is not fixed, sometimes 25, sometimes 24, sometimes 23 and sometimes 22. In one work this body of sūtras is embodied in a small work written in the form of a Brāhmaṇa, in another in a work in the form of a Vedic sūtra : sometimes the sūtras are commented upon in the ordinary way. But the essential element in all these small books is the body of the sūtras. This body of sūtras has been examined by many eminent scholars, Colebrooke, Fitzedward Hall, Ballantyne, Rājā Rajendralāl and others, and they seem to agree that their number should be 22. Colebrooke thinks that this is the oldest form of Sāmkhya sūtras. Fitzedward Hall thinks they are an abstract of the Sāmkhya-Pravacana. But I find that the great majority of the 22 sūtras has a number attached to it, such as—

अथै प्रकृतयः । चौडशधिकाराः । त्रैगुण्यसञ्चारः । पञ्च
कर्मयोनेयः । पञ्च वायवः । पञ्च कर्त्तमानः । etc., etc.,

and so on, 16 out of 22 are only enumerations. This is really, then, the essence of the enumerative system. The sūtras are perfectly unsectarian and therefore very ancient.

The manuscript No. 9561 of the Government Collection in the Asiatic Society of Bengal names the work as Kapilasūtravṛtti and says in the Preface :—

महर्षिर्भगवान्कपिलो द्वाविंशतिसूत्रान्युपालिखत् । सूचनात् सूत्रमिति
हि व्युत्पत्तिः । ततश्च तैस्तत्त्वानां सकलषष्टितन्त्रार्थानां सूचना भवति ।
इतश्चेदं सकलसांख्यतीर्थभूतं तीर्थान्तराणि चैतत् प्रपञ्चभूतान्येव ।
सूत्रषडध्यायी तु वैश्वानरावतारभगवत् कपिलप्रणीता । इयन्तु द्वाविंशति-
सूत्रौ तस्यापि वोजभूता । नारायणमहर्षिभगवत्प्रणीतिति वृद्धाः ॥

Thus the anonymous writer of the commentary thinks that these twenty-two sūtras are the root of the entire Sāmkhya

learned men in India. The anonymous commentator of our manuscript explains their existence by assuming the existence of two Kāpilas, and Hemādri, the Chief Justice, Chief Engineer and a feudatory of the last dynasty of Hindu kings at Devagiri (Mod. Daulatābād) considers a Brahmin versed in the Sāmkhya as the purest of the pure Brahmins, equal in rank with the professors of all the Vedas. But the Kāpila he would consider more impure than even the hog and the dog, telling us that they belong to a school worse than the Lokāyatas; so both the sets of the sūtras were in vogue in his time and they are still in existence. Some consider both to be orthodox and some consider the Kāpilas as absolutely heterodox.

Besides these there are some school books on Sāmkhya at the head of which stands Sāmkhyasāra by Vijñānabhikṣu, which were all composed within the last eight hundred years and the dates of these can be easily ascertained.

It is often said that the Vedānta system of philosophy has a greater hold on Indian minds than any other school of thought. Yes, Vedānta is very popular with the monastic world, ninety per cent. of the Hindu monks are the followers of Śāṅkara's system. But the Sāmkhya system permeates the whole life of India. Its influence on every branch of Sanskrit literature is supreme. The Purāṇas know very little of other systems. The Tantras are mainly followers of Sāmkhya. As regards Smṛti the very foundation head of it, Manu, has been declared by Śāṅkara as adopting Sāmkhya ideas. The Kāvya literature, when philosophical, knows little of other systems of philosophy. Kālidāsa, in his immortal poems, Raghuvamśa and Kumārasambhava rises to a soaring height in his hymns to Brahmā and Viṣṇu and the hymns are, from the beginning to the end, Sāmkhya in spirit.

It is a well-known fact that the orthodox Sāmkhya has two schools, Śeśvara and Nirīśvara. In the case of Sāmkhya-Pravacana the Śeśvara is represented by the commentary of Vijñānabhikṣu and the Nirīśvara by that of Mahādeva Vedānti. Haribhadra, the Jaina writer of the eighth century, says that

Śiva is the god of the Sēśvara and Nārāyaṇa is the god of the Nirīśvara School of Sāmkhya, because Haribhadra can not think of a school of philosophy without a God. The word he uses is "Devatā" which is very vaguely translated by the word "God." To him Sugata is the God of the Baudha Darśana.

Though I may be open to the charge of repetition, I think, I should conclude this survey of the chronology of the Sāmkhya system by beginning at the beginning. I began from the middle and I began with the most important pieces of information and hence there may be some confusion in the minds of my hearers.

I believe that Kapila wrote the 22 sūtras, giving the bare outline of his system of primitive philosophy. He wrote before the Śvetāśvatara, the Kāṭha Upaniṣad and other later Vedic works embodying Sāmkhya ideas, were composed. His ideas were accepted in the seventh and sixth centuries B.C., a century or two later than the end of the Vedic period by all classes of thinkers. But they modified his system according to their own ideas and carried them to their logical conclusion by discarding Individuality. The Jainas kept to his last conclusion by making "Kaivalya" or "individuality" absolute. The orthodox Brahmins on the other hand, wrote a body of sūtras embodying his ideas but incorporating in it such peculiar ideas of their own as the authenticity of the Vedas, efficacy of sacrifices and so on. This body of the sūtras is lost. One single sūtra only is to be found in Gaudapāda's commentary of the Golden Seventy. Mādhara wrote a commentary on this body of the sūtras and some one perhaps elaborated it into the form of Ṣaṣṭitantra or the Sixty Topics. Īśvarakṛṣṇa epitomized Ṣaṣṭitantra and followed Mātharabhāṣya in the fifth century, Gaudapāda wrote a commentary on the seventy Kārikās of Īśvarakṛṣṇa, but he knew of the existence of the work in the Brāhmaṇa form, for he says, in the beginning of his work, that Kapila was the son of Brahṁā; with him were born Jñāna, Dharma, Vairāgya and Aisvarya; and he imparted his knowledge to a Brahmin of Asurigoṭra;

(so Āsuri was not his brother, because Kapila belonged to Gautama gotra which contained many eminent men known in the Vedas). The Sāmkhya-Pravacana was based on the previous literature on the subject but modified by Śāṅkara's ideas for Vijñānabhikṣu, the earlier and Seśvara commentator, was a downright follower of Śāṅkara. His disciple, Bhāvā Gaṇeśa however comments on the 22 sūtras and there were many commentaries on the same later on.

This is, in fact, the history of the Sāmkhya System of Philosophy which has profoundly influenced not only the thought but even life in India. The modern compendiums begin with Vijñānabhikṣu's Sāmkhyasāra. There are six or seven works after him, but they take their cue from him.

II.—Dramatic Magadhi.

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Dramaturgists mentioned by Pāṇini iv. iii. 110—11 imply the existence of dramas even before Pāṇini. But the known dramas commence from Aśvaghoṣa¹ about the second century A.C.² Different characters speak different dialects, Māgadhi being generally employed by those of lower classes.³ Whether this particular convention was a simple fiction or had some substratum of truth behind it is discussed later on.⁴ For the present it may be noted that there is certainly some difference, modification or development between Aśvaghoṣa's Māgadhi,⁵ Kālidāsa's and later. It is admitted that Māgadhi, even Aśōkan was artificial; the process of stereotyping carried on by grammarians⁶ acquired its rigidity in the dramas and finally fixed as mere custom manifestly divorced from all reality,⁷ so that a drama written to-day would not hesitate to employ Māgadhi of Aśvaghoṣa or Kālidāsa. It is further admitted that even the earliest dramas being already in a highly advanced stage, this idea of deliberately producing an illusion⁸ was already at work. But even then, the fact remains that there was some sort of modification from Aśvaghoṣa and his successors. It was partly due no doubt to a copyist's error, unintentional alteration or unauthorised correction in the light

¹ Sten Konow, *Das Indische Drama*, page 50.

² Cowell, *Buddha-Carita*, 1893, pages v, vi.

³ Lacôte, page 75.

⁴ Vide pages 9—11.

⁵ Lüders, *Bruchstücke*, page 37.

⁶ Bloch, *Le Marathe* page 12.

⁷ Haraprasad Śāstrī, *Svapnavāsavadattā* (Ed. Gaṇapati) Intro. page xvii.

⁸ Giles, *Manual of Comparative Philology*, sections 614—6.

of his own day ; partly; also, perhaps to the existence of different schools as suggested by Barnett and Grierson. But it may also be assumed that the development of the actual vernaculars ¹ was not without its influence in the gradual and possibly contemporaneous development of Māgadhi (as of the other Prakṛts).

Texts.

The characters speaking Māgadhi in all the dramas known till to-day are given below. Then follows an alphabetical list of all the Māgadhi words of Aśvaghoṣa. As the same characters or the same dramas sometimes employ different forms of the same word, perhaps belonging to different periods of philological development, the number of occurrence of each word should be noted down, and checked carefully. It may insinuate, however slightly, by a calculation of percentage, the course of phonological or morphological development. Extreme caution, however, is necessary in using the texts for linguistic purposes, for most of them are very badly edited. Pischel's ² grammar may help in correcting the texts but it has been thought advisable to leave the texts as they are, even when, e.g. Nāgānanda, Caitanyacandrodaya, Laṭakamelaka, etc., the Māgadhi portions are obviously changed into Śaurasenī. In the characterization of dramatic Māgadhi, such dubious cases have been slightly touched upon but nowhere adduced as evidence.

I.—Fragments of Aśvaghoṣa : Duṣṭa, i.e. the Rascal, in Śāriputraprakaraṇa. [Lüders: Bruckstücke Buddhistischer Dramen, 1911, and S.K.A.W. 1911.]

II.—“Bhāsa” (?), 13 Trivandrum Dramas, Ed. Gaṇapati Śāstri, from 1912: Unmattaka, i.e. the Madman in Pratijñāyugandharāyaṇa and Śākara in Cārudatta.

III.—Śakuntalā of Kālidāsa, Fisherman, two Policemen, Sarvadamaṇa, young son of Śakuntalā. [Pischel Kiel, 1877; Iśvaracandra Vidyāsāgara.]

¹ Grierson, Ency. Brit. 11th Ed. Vol. 22 p. 254; Beames Gram. Vol. I p. 7.

² Pischel, G. D. P.—S. sec. 23.

- IV.—*Mṛcchakatikā* of Śūdraka: Śākara, his servant Sthāvaraka, the shampooer Kumbhilaka, Vardhamānaka, the two Caṇḍālas and Rohasena. [Stenzler Bonnæ, 1846.]
- V.—*Mattavilāsa* of Mahendravikramavarman: Unmattaka i.e. the Madman. [Gaṇapati Śāstrī, Trivandrum.]
- VI.—*Prabodhacandrodaya* of Kṛṣṇamiśra: Cārvāka's pupil and the messenger from Orissa. [Brockhaus, Lipsiae, 1835-1845.]
- VII.—*Mudrārākṣasa* of Viśākhadatta: servant, Jaina Monk, Messenger, Siddhārthaka and Samiddhārthaka as Caṇḍālas. [Hillebrandt, Breslau, 1922.]
- VIII.—*Lalitavigraharājanāṭaka* of Somadeva: the Bards and the Spy. [Kielhorn, GN. 1893, p. 552ff; BIS. Berlin, 1901.]
- IX.—*Veṇīśāhāra* of Bhaṭṭanārayaṇa: the Rākṣasa and his wife. [K. N. Dravid, Poona, 1909-10.]
- X.—*Mallikāmārutam* of Uddaṇḍin: Elephant-keepers. [Jibānanda Vidyāsāgar, Calcutta, 1878.]
- XI.—*Nāgananda* of Harṣa: Servants. [K. K. Bhaṭṭācārya, Calcutta.]
- XII.—*Caitanyacandrodaya* of Kavikarṇapura: Servants. [Rajendralāl Mitra, Bib. Indic., Calcutta, 1854.]
- XIII.—*Caṇḍakaūsika* of Kṣemiśvara: Caṇḍālas and Rascal. [Jibānanda Vidyāsāgar, Calcutta, 1884.]
- XIV.—*Dhūrtasamāgama* of Jyotirīśvara Kaviśekhara: Barber. [Cappeller, Lassen, Anthologia Sanskritica, pp. 66-96.]
- XV.—*Hāsyārṇava* of Jagadīśvara Bhaṭṭācārya: Sādhupimśaka. [Second Ed. pp. 78; Calcutta, 1896; Cappeller.]
- XVI.—*Lāṭakamelaka* of Śaṅkhaḍhara: Digambarā Jain. [Durgaprasad and Parab, Kāvya-mālā, No. 20, Bomb. 1889.]
- XVII.—*Kaṁśavadha* of Śeṣakṛṣṇa: Hunchback. [Durgaprasad and Parab, Kāvya-mālā, No. 6, Bombay, 1888.]

XVIII.—Amṛtodaya of Gokulanātha : Jain monk.
[Śivadatta and Parab, Kāvya-mālā, No. 59, Bombay,
1897.]

Date.

Except in the case of "Bhāsa"¹ the dates of the above authors as settled provisionally so far amongst scholars, have been accepted without discussion. Their philological development is discussed in four groups :—

1. Aśvaghoṣa,² c. 2nd century A.C. ;
2. Trivandrum " Bhāsa ",³ c. 2nd—3rd century A.C. ;
3. Kālidāsa⁴ and Mṛcchakatika,⁵ c. 5th—6th century A.C. ;
4. Mātṛavilāsa⁶—Amṛtodaya, c. 7th—11th century A.C.
(though a drama like Mallikāmarutam is perhaps so late as the 15th century A.C.⁷ and thus devoid of much interest from a Māgadhī point of view.)

Aśvaghoṣa.⁸

Māgadhī spoken by Duṣṭa i.e. the Rascal.

Māgadhī words.					Number of occurrences.	Ref. to Luders.
1	ajja	...	...	...	...	B. B. D. ⁸ pp. 34, 35
	añ [ñ] añ	...	...	...	...	S.K.A.W. ⁹ p. 404
	anuggāhako	...	...	...	...	" "
	apuru...mukhavappena	...	...	...	...	" "
	ayan=tassa	...	...	...	...	" p. 411

¹ Banerji-Śāstrī, J.R.A.S., 1921, pp. 367—82; J.B.O.R.S., 1923, pp. 49—113.

² Cowell : Buddhacarita, pp. v, vi.

³ Vide 1.

⁴ Macdonell : Sansk. Lit. p. 325.

⁵ Sten Konow : Das Indische Drama, p. 57.

⁶ Barnett : Bulletin School Orient. Stud., 1920, pp. 35—38.

⁷ Schnyder : Bibliography of the Skt. Drama, 1908.

⁸ Bruchstücke : Buddhistischer Dramen, Berlin, 1911. ⁹ Sitzungsberichte Der Königlich Preussischen Akademie Der Wissenschaften, 1911, xvii. pp. 383—411.

	Māgadhi words.					Number of occurrences.	Ref. to Lüders.
2	abakarā	...	...	...	...	...	B.B.D. pp. 34, 35
	iyamhi	...	...	...	...	...	S.K.A.W. p. 410
3	...[i]tthā	...	...	...	...	...	B.B.D. p. 404
	upajjhāya	...	...	...	...	...	" "
	...upadeso	...	...	...	...	...	" "
	etassa	...	...	...	...	...	" "
	edisassa	...	...	...	...	...	" "
	[khaṇ]ṭṭhabaddhe (?)	...	...	...	...	...	" p. 411
	kaṇṭhaviṭṭhit...n. (kaṇṭhaviṭṭhi- tālāne)	...	...	...	...	...	" "
4	kalemi	...	...	...	...	...	...
	kahi ... (kahin)	...	...	...	...	...	S.K.A.W. p. 410
5	Kālanā	...	...	...	...	...	...
6	[k]iśśa	...	...	...	...	...	...
7	komudagandha	...	...	...	...	...	...
8	khu	...	...	...	...	...	...
9	ga	...	...	...	...	...	S.K.A.W. p. 404
	[gatay]au... (gatayauvanā ?)	...	...	...	...	...	" p. 410
	gatāsi	...	...	...	...	...	" "
	—ceti—(?)	...	...	...	...	...	...
10	jim[bh]āye	...	...	...	...	...	...
11	tahin	...	...	...	...	...	...
12	tāva	...	...	...	2	...	...
13	tāva...	...	...	...	...	...	...
14	te	...	...	...	...	...	...
15	...tiena	...	...	...	...	...	...
	...Dhānam	...	...	...	...	...	S.K.A.W. p. 410

	Māgadhi words.				number of occurrences.	Ref to Liders.
16	dāsīputta	...	...	...	...	...
17	dekkha	...	...	...	...	...
18	na	...	...	...	3	...
19	...na	...	...	...	...	...
20	ni	...	...	...	...	...
	nioppal	...	...	...	...	...
	pavvajitassa	...	...	...	...	S.K.A.W. p. 404
21	peṣṣeti	...	...	...	...	...
22	ba[m]bha(ua)	...	...	...	...	...
	bumbhaṇa janassa	...	...	...	...	S.K.A.W. p. 404
23	[bam]bhaṇa	...	...	...	...	...
24	...bhoti	...	...	...	...	...
25	bhonti	...	...	...	...	...
	brahmaca. [yy]	...	...	...	...	...
	(brahmacaryya ^o)	...	...	...	...	S.K.A.W. p. 404
	— bhaddā	...	...	...	...	S.K.A.W. p. 409
	bh.. (bhaddā ?)	...	...	...	...	" p. 410
	bh.[t]... (bhoti ?)	...	...	...	...	" p. 404
26	makkataḥ[o]	...	...	...	...	...
27	mā	...	...	...	2	...
28	mā tāva repeated together	...	...	...	2	...
	mittāmittham.	...	...	...	...	S.K.A.W. p. 410
29	[I] (i) l (a) m	...	...	...	...	...
	vacanam	...	...	...	...	" p. 404
30	vicchaḍ[ḍ].	...	...	...	...	...
	vitto (?)	...	...	...	...	" p. 409

	Māgadhi words.				Number of occurrences.	Ref. to Lüders.
	vidu—bho	...	...	...	...	S.K.A.W. p. 404
	viya	...	...	...	...	" "
	(vacanaṁviya)	...	...	...	...	...
31	vutte	...	...	...	...	...
32	śakkan	...	...	...	...	...
	śamāgaccha[tu] (?)	...	...	...	...	S.K.A.W. p. 411
33	śama[g](ama°)	...	...	...	...	...
	śa.vutt[e] (śaṁvutte)	...	...	...	...	" p. 411
34	śaha	...	...	...	...	...
	śaha	...	...	...	...	" p. 411
	śvaśuṭakulam (?)	...	...	...	...	" p. 410
35	ś(ā)p(a)maḥ[i]mā:	...	...	...	...	...
	sigghaṁ	...	...	...	...	" p. 410
	supiya	...	...	...	...	" p. 404
	somadattassa	...	...	...	...	" p. 410
	..[da] ttena (śomadattena ?)	...	...	...	...	" p. 411
36	haigho	...	...	...	...	...
37	.. haigho	...	...	...	...	...
	hi (?)	...	...	...	...	" p. 411
38	himena	...	...	...	...	...

Characterization of Asvaghosa Magadhi.

(2) General.

Phonology. Vowels. $r > u$: *vutte* 31¹; $> e$: *ḍakkha* 17; $au > o$: *komuda-ganda* 7. Before a double consonant the vowel becomes long: *bambāṇā* 23, otherwise *bambha(ṇa)* 22.

¹ The numbers refer to the preceding alphabetical list.

Consonants. *n* is submitted for *ṇ* when the *r* before the latter is changed. *kālana* 5 (but *bamḥana* 23). *r > l* *kalemi* 4, 5. *s > ś*: *dāsiputta* 16, [*k*]issa 6, *saha* 34, *sama*[*g*](*ama*^o) 33. *ś* retained: *sakkan* 32, *sapa* (?) 35. Verb form *peṣseti* 21.

Conjunct consonants: *ky > kk*: *sakkan* 32. *dy > jj*: *ajja* 1. *sy > ss*. [*k*]issa 6. *tr > tt*: *dāsiputta* 16. *br > b*: *ba*[*m*]ḥa-(*na*^o) 22. *rk > kk*: *makkataho* 26. *rd > dd*: *vicchad*[*d*]...30. *ks > kkh*: *dekkha* 17. *hm > mbh* [*bam*]ḥaṇā 23, *ba*[*m*]ḥa(*na*^o) 22, *jim*[*bh*]āye 10. *ṁh > ngh*: *haṅgho* 36.

ava > o: *bhoti* 24, *bhonti* 25. *khalu > klu* 8.

Sandhi. —*a* > —*e*: *vutte* 31. —*a* > —*a*: [*bam*]ḥamā 23. *tāva* 13, *kālana* 5. —*m* > *anusvāra*: *ahakaṁ na* 2. Also the nasal form: *l* (*ṛ*)*l*(*a*)*m* *makkataho* 26, 29, ^o*m* *peṣseti* 21, ^o*n* *kalemi* 4, *sakkan takinga*^o 32, 11.

Morphology. Declension. *a*-stem. Sing. nom. m. *vutte* 31. n. *sakkam* 32 (written *sakkan* in the text in connection with the next word). Instr. *himena* (?) 38, ^o*ttena* 15. Dat. *jim* [*bhā*]ye (?) 10. Gen. *makkatah* [*o*] (?) 26. Abl. *kālāṇā* 5. Voc. *komudagandha* ?; *dasiputta* 16. Pl. Nom. m. [*bam*]ḥaṇā 23.

Personal Pronoun. Sing. Nom. *ahakaṁ* 2. Gen. *te* 14. Interrogative Pron. Sin. Gen. Neut. [*k*]iṣṣa 6.

Conjugation. Pres. Ind. I. Sing. *kalemi* 4, 3. Sing...*bhoti* 24, *peṣseti* 21. 3 pl. *bhonti* 25. Imperative 2. Sing. *dekkha* 17. Part. Pres. Pass. *vutte* 31.

Adverbs. *ajja* 1; *klu* 8; *tahim* 11; *tāva*.....13; *na* 18; *mā* 27; *haṅgho* 36—7.

Asvaghosa and Grammatical Magadhi.

(i) *r > l*: Var. XI. 3; Hc. IV. 288; (ii) *s > ś*: Var. XI. 3; Hc. IV. 288; (iii) Nom. Sing. masc. of *a*-stem in *e*: Var. XI. 10; Hc. IV. 287; Pischel § 509; (iv) *dekkhatavā, mātāvā, ajja te*: Pischel § 185; (v) *peṣseti, bhoti*: Pischel, § 203; *n* in *ttena, himend, na*; Pischel § 224; cf. *n > n* in *kālana*; (vi) *sakkan takinga*^o; Hc. I. 24; Pischel § 349; (vii) *haṅgho*; later from *hamho* Pischel § 276; (viii) [*bam*]ḥaṇā, *ba*[*m*]ḥa(*na*);

later *bamhaṇa* ; Pischel § 330 ; (ix) *ahakaṁ* ; later *ahake*, *hake*, *hage* ; Var. II. g ; He. IV. 301 ; Pischel § 417 ; (x) *kissa* ; later *kīsa* ; Pischel § 428 ; (xi) *ajja* ; later *ayya* ; He. IV. 292 ; Pischel 280 ; (xii) *vicchadd*..... ; later *ceh* > *se* ; He. IV. 295 ; Pischel § 233 ; (xiii) *dekkha* ; later *ks*, *ks*, *hk* ; Var. II. 8 ; He. IV. 296ff. ; Pischel, § 324 ; (xiv)...*ittā* ; later *st*, *sth* > *st* ; He. IV. 289ff. ; Pischel § 303 ; cf. *rth*, *tth* > *st*, Pischel § 290. About the lateness of the form *ahake* (in contrast with the older Aśvaghoṣa *ahakaṁ*) noted above (viii), Michelson¹ points out in criticising Sukthankar² that the Mg. *ahake* occurs a few times in the Devanagari redaction of Śakuntalā. The form *makkataho* is curious. Gen. Sing. of *a*-stem in Māgadhi is—*aha*,³ not—*aho*.—*aho* is the Gen. Sing. in Apabhraṁśa.⁴ The other forms seem to be really old. *dy* > *yy*, *ks* > *sk*, *hk*, *ceh* > *se*, *st*, *sth* > *st*, etc. lead Lüders⁵ to suggest that language of the Duṣṭa is a sort of Old Māgadhi, the earlier stage of the Grammatical and Dramatic Māgadhi.

Characterization of Dramatic Magadhi.

General.—The mixture of dialects in the Indian Drama has been interpreted in various ways. It has no exact parallel in any other literature. Sometimes four, more frequently three, different dialects are spoken in the same household or family. The same play contains dialects of different areas but spoken by persons not invariably associated with those areas. One such dialect again, viz. Sanskrit clearly belongs to an anterior linguistic stage. And the different uses have been systematised into a code. The following explanations have been suggested.

1. It reflects more or less accurately an actual state of affairs. "In India there is nothing extraordinary in such a polyglot medley. It is paralleled by the conditions of any large house in Bengal at the present day, in which there are people

¹ J.A.O.S., 41 pp. 177, 178.

² Ibid. 40, p. 253.

³ Pischel, G. D. P.—S, sec. 366.

⁴ Lüders, Bruchstücke, pp. 36, 37.

⁵ Ibid. p. 37.

from every part of India each of whom speaks his own language and is understood by the others, though none of them attempts to speak what is not his mother tongue".¹ This substratum of reality becomes more and more faint and the use of a particular dialect by a particular character more conventional.² This arbitrary nature is clear from the uniform use of Sanskrit by persons who perhaps also spoke another language but obeyed the convention. Similarly in Greek Tragedy, the chorus sings in a dialect different from the rest of the play. The Doric chorus in the Attic drama is a conventional language based on Doric dialects and corresponds to a literary Prakṛt in an Indian play.³

2. The above would imply Śauraseni as the culture centre in the formation of the drama. Similarly the Māhārāṣṭrī verse convention was possibly due to its rise in the South and wide spread in the North as well, till it acquired the position of the only proper medium of poetry. Lévi⁴ connects the use of Śauraseni with the Kṛṣṇa cult at Mathurā, the Śauraseni capital, and the use of Magadhi with the ancient Magadhas, the bards of Magadha.

3. A Prakṛt origin for the Dramas, Epics and Purāṇas.⁵ Literary tradition points to a Paisācī Prakṛt original of the Brhatkathā. The fragments of Buddhist dramas about the time of Kaniska is in incorrect Sanskrit but two or three well-defined Prakṛts, the latter sometimes used in stage directions, expressed in later dramas always in Sanskrit. Pischel suggests an Apabhraṃśa original for Jayadeva's Gītagovinda. Popular poetry is supposed to have been originally in a popular dialect, the oldest perhaps in primary Prakṛt from the literary side of which sprang the Pāṇinian Sanskrit. A progressive but uneven Sanskritisation would account for the many irregularities, older and newer forms existing side by side.

¹ Grierson, *Ency. Brit.* 11th ed., Vol. 22, p. 254.

² Beames, *Grammar*, Vol. I. p. 7.

³ Lacôte, *op. cit.* 76.

⁴ Lévi, *Le Théâtre Indien*, p. 331.

⁵ Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*.

4. The standard Prakṛta of Vararuci, viz. Māhārāṣṭrī is of no particular province but an artificial language manufactured by reducing Sanskrit to Prakṛt forms and points to the then culture centre.¹ Nāṭyaśāstra knows only Śāurasenī—*Śaurasenīm samasṛitya bhāṣā kārya tu nāṭake*. It ignores the Māhārāṣṭra country, as in having to note a provincial peculiarity of the latter, has recourse to a geographical description, *Surāṣṭrāvanti* etc. (60) The discrepancy in the relative position of Śāurasenī in the Nāṭyaśāstra and Māhārāṣṭrī in Vararuci is sought to be explained by a shifting of the culture centre.

5. The Prakṛts seek to create an illusion by linguistic suggestion. The drama did not claim really to be polyglot in character but only in suggestion. Bharata² refers only to nominal modifications of the standard Prakṛt to suggest provincial peculiarities, e.g. (i) *e* sound for the people of the Eastern Gangetic plains, (ii) *na* for those in the region of the Vindhya to the seacoast, (iii) *u* for the North-West of India, (iv) *ca* for Surāṣṭra and vicinity. The non-Aryan Ābhīras (Apabhraṃśa-speaking in the twelfth century according to Hemacandra). Oḍras, Śābaras and Caṇḍālas are not to introduce their language wholesale but only a few peculiarities sufficient to produce the illusion.

The last explanation seems to be the most plausible. The suggested illusion is very common in the comedies, which jests with the dialect of foreigners. The Thracian barbarian Triballōs in Aristophanes with his distorted Greek, the parody of the Punic dialect in Latin comedies, Shakespeare's Welshmen and Frenchmen represent the comic side. But even apart from this attempt at ridicule, real dialectical differences, between people of different classes or different provinces are introduced to create an atmosphere of momentary reality. The Bengal Jātrā-Gān offers a curious parallel. The doorkeepers speak incorrect Bengali in the manner of Beharis who generally fulfil that function in Bengal. The change of *ha* for *sa*

¹ Majumdar, Hist. Beng. Lit. p. 220.

² Nāṭyaśāstra, Chap. XVII.

seeks to reflect Eastern Bengal provincial peculiarities. But in each of these cases, be it in comic parody or serious mannerism, the object of this imitation is practically the same; not to introduce different dialects as such, but to conjure up a sense of illusion before the audience and help them to live for the time being, in the places, in the times and amidst the characters that move and have their being on the stage. It fits in well with the rules in Dramaturgy and their practice in the dramas. Māgadhi was spoken by the lower classes, due perhaps to its original connection with the popular tongue; its extension to Jaina monks, children and spies possibly bear tokens of Brāhmaṇa prejudices as grammarians or dramatists; its application to Caṇḍālas, rascals and the like may purport to emphasise the "popular" element as distinct from the higher and more cultivated. Thus commencing as a copy, however distant, of an actual vernacular, Māgadhi developed in a form more and more unreal in spite of continued attempts to keep in touch with the current vernacular through the medium of Deśī accretions; till in the final stage, it survived only as a convention.

Some Characteristics of Dramatic Magadhi.

Phonetics. Single Consonants.

(i) $r > l$: *lāṇo*, *dalidda*, *muhala*, *puliso*, *galuda*, *ṣamale*, etc. In other dialects optional; more frequent in Amg. Than in *M* or *Ś*; *taluno* = *taruno*; Vedic *aram* $\sqrt{kr} > alam$ $\sqrt{kr} \sqrt{ruc} > \sqrt{luc}$; Beng. and Bihari *r* as well as *l*; Dramatic Mg. perhaps exaggerates an Eastern tendency into general rule; most Aryan dialects have the *r* sound; (ii) Dramatic Mg. possibly reflects a non-Aryan habit; (iii) *y* retained and $j > y$: *yadhā*, *yana-pada* *y* is a front palatal fricative not the semivowel, like Gk. *z*, cf. *Azes*—*Ayasa*; Beng.—*j* written *y* sometimes = *z*, cf. *se* pronounced *ze*, (iii) *ś*, *s*, *s* $> ś$ *Bhavissadi*; Beng. same except in conjuncts: other dialects only *s*. (iv) In the root $\sqrt{bhū}$ and its derivatives *bh* $> h$, *havissadi*. (iv) *k*, *t*, *p*, *b*, *v*, *y*, between vowels, dropped: *pālidosa*, *hage* $< *ahakah$ from *aham*. (v) Surd *th* sonant *dh*: *yadhā*; Pāli retains surd *th*, cf. *atthā*

vatha. (vi) Cerebral surds *t*, *ṭh* between vowels > *ḍ*, *ḍh*: then *ḍ* > *l*: *śaada* > *śaala*. (vii) Aspiration shifted: *dhudā* (*duhitā*). *bahinī* (*bhaginī*). (viii) Dental > cerebral: *padida*. (ix) *ḍ* > *l*: *galuḍa*. (x) Sometimes Skt. *h* > aspirate *dh*: *idha*.

Conjuncts. (i) *dy*, *rj*, *ry* < *yy*: *ayya*. (ii) *ny*, *ny*, *jñ*, *ñj*, *ññ*: *puñña*. cf. Hc. (iv) 293. (iii) Medial *ech* > *se*: *gaśca*; cf. Indo-Europ. *śka* and Vedic *ceh*; Mg. Secondary *ceh* also, > *se*: *mascālī* cf. Hindī *muchlī*. (iv) *so* retained: *niścala*. (v) *śka*, *ṣṭa*, *ṣṭh*, *śpa*, *ṣpha*, *śka*, *sta*, *stha*, *kṣa* > *śka* (Hc.) or *śka*, *ṣṭa* or *sta*, *śpa*, *ṣpha*, *śkhī*, *sta* or *śta*, *śka* (Hc. *hka* with *jihvāmūliya*) respectively cf. Grammatical Mg. (vi) *rtḥ* > *st* or *ste*: *aste* (*artñah*); Iranian *rt* > *s*: Avestan *masyo* = *martyah*. (vii) Dialectic *s* > *h*: *kāmāha*. (viii) Svarabhakti vowel inserted between two consonants one being a nasal or a semi-vowel: *ladāṇa* (*ratna*).

Vowels. (i) Initial *r* > *li*: *liṣi*. (ii) *u* > *i*: *puliśa*. (iii) *e* > *i*: *ediṇā* (*etena*). (iv) Omission of vowels in *idanim* > *dāṇim* *dhūdā* (*duhitā*, * *duhīlā*).

Sandhi. (i) *yad icchase* > *yad icchase*. (ii) *ṣṣkadi* (*prekṣate*): when the 2nd member begins with long *i* or *ū* the vowels are combined. (iii) Hiatus caused by dropping intervocalic consonants retained: *lāṇla* (*rājakula*).

Morphology. Declension. Only variations from the Māhārāṣṭri form are mentioned.

(1) *a*-stems (i) Nom. Sing. in *e*: *puliśe*. (ii) Gen. sing. both—*āha* and *-śśa*: *calūdattāha*, *cāludattśśa* (iii) Loc. in *ahim*: *parahanāhim*.

(2) Feminine *ā*-stem. Abl. Sing.—*īdo* also—*āe*: *im ado imāe*.

(3) *r* stem: *mātṛ* Nom. *mālū*. (4) *Ātman*—(1) Nom. *attā*. (iii) Gen. *attānaśśa*.

Personal Pronouns. (1) 1st. person (i) Nom. Sing. *hoge*, *hagge*, *hake*, *ahake*, Aśva. *ahakam*. (ii) Loc. *māi*. (iii) Acc. Sing. *asme*. (iv) Gen. *asmānam*. (2) 2nd Pers. Sing. (i) Nom. *ḍhakkī tuham*. (ii) Acc. *de*. (3) 3rd Pers. (a)

From *sa-*: (1) Nom. Sing. *se*. (ii) Gen. *se* for all genders. (iii) Plur. Nom. and Gen. *se*. (b) From *ta-*: (i) Abl. *tado*. (ii) Gen. *tassz*. (iii) Plur. Nom. *de*, after another pronoun. cf. *cde de*.

Numerals. *ēkkaṁ*—Loc. Sing. *ēkkassim*.

Conjugation. 1. \sqrt{prech} ; *puscadi*, *puscadha*, *puscadi*, similar *s* endings. 2. *Ātmanepada*, *iscase* (*icchase*). 3. Imperative. (i) to *hi* added to a long vowel in 2nd Sing. sometimes added to *a*-stems, with the *ā* lengthened, *gacchāhi*. (ii) The ending *-su* common: *kadhesu* (kathaya) but other *Ātmanepada* forms rare. Pali *-ssu* from *sva*¹ also used with *Parasmaipada* stem; perhaps used in active voice by analogy.

Passive. (1) Corresponding to Skt. in *-ya-* with *y* omitted in Mg. and *s* or (ii) adding *-za-* to the root, generally to the present stem: *bhindīadi*, *mālīasi*.

Infinitive. Skt. *-tum* > *-dum*: *kādum*.

Gerund. (1) *kadua* (*kṛtva*) (ii) From Skt. *-nīya*: *-añā*, *karañā*.

Present Indicative Irregularities. To the 4th class \sqrt{ru} . *loadi*

Irregular Future. *mālīssasi* = *māragiṣyasi*.

Irregular Passive. Mg. (and Ś) prefer the form to the present base. *suñādi*.

Interrelation of the different aspects of Magadhi, Inscriptional, Grammatical and Dramatic.

(1) Hemacandra iv. 290. *ṭṭ* and *ṣṣh* > *st*; Aśoka Girnar;²

*Mṛcchakatikā*³ *st*, *st*, *sth* with palatal *s*. (ii) Hc. v. 293: contrast *ahimanṇua* Venis⁴ 2604; for *aṇṇdo* of. Grill⁵ page 144.

(iii) Hc. iv. 295: Śak. p. 113-118. for initial *cho* cf. *gaṇḍhi-chedaā* 58, Pischel, p. 115, 4.12, cf. Hc. I. 11. (iv) Var. xi. 12; Hc. iv. 299; contrast Aśva. 26; cf. Śak. 113, 5, 6. *Mṛch.* 10, 24. 13, 25. 21, 13. 14. 24. 3. 32. 4. 18. 38, 12. 45,

¹ Müller, Pali Grammar, p. 107.

² J. A.S.B., vii. p. 278.

³ Stenzler, *Mṛcchakatikā*, p. viii.

⁴ Venisamhāra, ed. Grill, Leipzig, 1871.

⁵ *Sakuntalā*, ed Pischel, Kiel, 1877.

1.123, 12. 124, 15. 21. 129, 7.180, 14.145, 4; Venis. 34, 19, 35, 10; cf. Pischel sec. 366; for *śsa* contrast Mṛcch. No. 1150, 1304, 1345, etc. (v) Hc. iv. 300; Śak. 116.3; the exception in Venis. 34, 20, No. 2668; cf. Hc. iv. 441. (vi) Var. xi. 9; Hc. iv. 301; Śak. 113, g. No. 170; for *aham* cf. Mṛcch. No. 175; for *hage* and *hagge* cf. Mṛcch. 1877-8; Devanāg. Śak. *ahake* (four times) No. 21; Michelson, J.A.O.S. Vol. 41, 1921, p. 177-8; Aśva. *ahakam* No. 2. (vii) Var. xi. 2; Hc. iv. 302, Hc. iv. 260: Var. xii. 3; *parisadu*, Śak. 115, 7, Dat. *paśādāya* in Dravid. and Devanāg. ed. (vii) Hc. iv. 261, Venis. 35, 17, 36.3; (viii) Hc. iv. 262; Śak. 114, 12; (ix) Var. iv. 12; Hc. iv. 265; Mudrār.¹ 183.2; Var. vi. 17; x. 11; Hc. iv. 266; Mudrār. 134; (xi) Var. xii. 3; Hc. iv. 267; Śak. 114, 12; (xii) Hc. iv. 268; Mudrār. 134, 2. 212, 3; cf. Mṛcch. 157, 4, Caṇḍak.² 64, 5; (xiii) Var. xii. 12; Hc. iv. 269; No. 1320, 1925; (xiv) Hc. iv. 270; Śak. 113. 7; (xv) Var. xii. 10; Hc. iv. 272; Mudrā. 124, 8; (xvi) Hc. iv. 273; Venis. 35. 17; (xvii) Var. vii. 12. 13; Hc. iv. 275; Venis. 33. 7; (xviii) Saṃkṣiptasāra, 8, Lass. App. p. 54. Hc. iv. 276, Mudrār. 357, 7-8; (xix) Hc. iv. 283; Śak. 115, 10. The points of contrast between Inscriptional Māgadhī and Grammatical and Dramatic to be specially dealt with later on.

The peculiarities noted so far seem to point to the gradual withdrawal of Māgadhī from the arena of conversational popular vernacular into the realm of grammatical fiction.³ Aśvaghoṣa and Trivandrum "Bhāsa" still show signs of real life, while Kālidāsa and Śūdraka emphasise an artificial culture. The latter raises the interesting question whether richness in varieties of subdialects is a measure of antiquity or the reverse. His provisional date, about the sixth century A.C., suggests a long anterior development of conventional Māgadhī. The latter makes clear the danger of attaching much chronological importance to a similarity of Prākṛts, as much as that of Sanskrit,

¹ Mudrārākṣasa, ed. Taranath Tarkavācaspati, Calcutta, saṃvat 1926.

² Caṇḍakaśīka, ed. Kedarnath, Calcutta, saṃvat 1929.

³ Haraprasad Sāstri, Intro. Svapnavāsavadatta, ed. Gaṇapati, p. xvii.

in different authors. This is further emphasised in the next stage, when dramas like *Mattavilāsa* and even those of to-day have to use the same *Prākṛit* and the same *Sanskrit* of perhaps *Kālidāsa* or *Śūdraka*, admittedly their predecessors. Just as in the first stage of *Māgadhi* evolution *Pāli* remains as the literary fossils of a contemporary spoken *Māgadhi*, in the second stage *Dramatic Māgadhi* represents a crystallised convention based on the descendant of that spoken *Māgadhi*. The vernacular original of this *Dramatic Māgadhi*, in the meanwhile, gathers strength from *Deśya* vocabulary and grammar and takes a new step forward in the *Māgadhi Apabhraṃsa*.

III.—The Law of Loan in Languages.

By Jainath Pati.

Philology is the science of language, but so far it has dealt with only one aspect of its growth—the organic, and the utter neglect of the other, what we may call inorganic, has caused much confusion, unnecessary waste of time and energy in useless disputations. Nay, some even do not seem to recognize that what are called laws of phonetic changes or simply phonetic laws, discovered between any two languages, are not chemical formulas, are not true for all times, not even for any time. For example, when we speak of Sanskrit *s* changing into *h* in Avestan¹ we commit an unpardonable mistake. That for two reasons. Every science must be exact in its expressions and more so Philology, the science of languages. Rhetoric must not be indulged in at the cost of truth. Secondly, because it misleads others. An example of this is to be found in *A History of Indian Shipping* by Professor Radha Kumud Mukerji, M.A., F.R.S. Believing literally in the above mentioned law he uncritically quotes² the argument of another that because Sindhu as the designation of a cloth is found among the list of articles in a Babylonian document, that article *must* have been carried there by sea from India, otherwise the intervening Avestan speaking people must have changed the *s* of Sindhu into *h*. We are not here concerned with his History but so far as it relates to Philology it is utterly untrue that Sanskrit *s* changes or did ever change into *h* in Avestan. This would mean that

¹ Taylor : The Origin of the Aryans, page 271 ; Jackson in Avesta Grammar is very careful, on the other hand. Mr. R. B. Joshi commits this very mistake in his Marathi Grammar at page 5, footnote.

² At page 86. The quotation is from Mr. Hewit.

the Avestan speaking people were incapable of or unused to pronouncing s, like some individuals whom we meet at times. Instead of pronouncing s they would always pronounce ph or f. Instead of Avestan sareda (Sk. Sarad), Pasu (Sk. Paśú), they would say Faredha and Fasu. But Sareda and Pasu (besides many others) sufficiently refute any such allegation against the Avestan speaking people. The law should have been stated even at the risk of verbosity, that what under certain circumstances is represented by s in Sanskrit is in Avestan represented by h. That is, rhetorically, Sk. S and Av. h under certain circumstances are descended from a common unknown ancestor. Such changes are known as organic developments. And these are subject to certain laws.

The other—inorganic changes—must also have its laws. Why Arabic *إِضًا* becomes *औजन* in Magahi and again why English “Engine” becomes in Maghi the same, these are called inorganic changes and their laws. Because people speaking different languages have had intercourse since very ancient times, these inorganic changes have taken place even in ancient period of human history. But as has been pointed out above, philologists have not examined them scientifically and exhaustively. So far as written records go, Philology had its beginning in India and that in the time of Pāṇini, if not earlier. But the attention of even that keen sighted scholar or of his followers was not directed to these. Not even undoubted Greek words such as are found in Hindu Astrological books have been taken by Indian pandits to be non-Sanskrit [e.g. *होरेयहोराचविकल्पमन्त्रैर्वाहन्ति पूर्वापरवर्णं क्षोपात्*, || Vr. Jātaka 1, 3; “some say that borā is a corruption of ahoratram, etc.”]. But in the grammars of Prākṛit and some other vernaculars, the existence of Deśiya (non-Sanskritian) words has been admitted (e.g. by Hemcandra). It is chiefly due to the unprecedented progress of the Science of Language during the last hundred years, that foreign words have been clearly traced to their sources. What has not been done is their examination in a collected form with a view to

the discovery of any scientific connexion among them. These connexions or the laws of inorganic changes are the subject matter of this paper. The laws are so simple that a bare perusal of them will make one feel as if he knew them from before. Rather their existence seems to have just struck philologists. Only these hints were not sufficiently followed up to be expressed in proper forms. Otherwise, when some five years ago I stated that Zarathustra is Yudhiṣṭhira in another form,¹ it should not have received scant attention. Some (who are real scholars of Sanskrit, Pali and English) suggested to me to prove the equation by reference to Avestan Philology. I smiled secretly and was a little sorry—considering the impossibility and absurdity of the suggestion. Avestan Philology, such as is understood by that term at present, is an organic science and may be called Organic Avestan Philology. But when the Avestan speaking people would borrow any foreign word, might be even from Sanskrit, the form that it would have, when spoken by them, would not be necessarily in accordance with the organic laws. The principle has been admitted by Max Müller² and others, while Dr. Prince, the partisan of Sumerian tongue, recognizes it.³ In Teutonic languages original k and s are represented by h (through kh), e.g. Sk. Śat, hundred; ṣṛṅga, horn; ketu, hood; kumbha, Germ. humpen; Lat. Canine, Eng. hound, Germ. hund. But when later the Germans borrowed caesar from Latin, it was not transformed into heasar but remained kaisar (The Indo-European Languages, by Mr. Mulvany, M.A., B.LITT, I.E.S., page 65). So, the laws of inorganic changes are different from those of organic changes and the fact of their being simple is a strong proof of their validity

¹ In my paper Zarathustra=Yudhiṣṭhira (now in the press). I read it in 1916 at a meeting of students and professors and scholars in the hall of the Bihar National College, Patna, and in the Bengali Literary Conference held in that very town.

² Science of Language, vol. II pp. 183, 253, 278.

³ In his article on Sumerian in the Ency. Brit. new edition.

First Law.

When one language borrows any word from another language, the word undergoes such changes as to become absorbed in the borrowing language.

I would call it naturalisation. It has been known to philologists and is attributed to analogy, phonetic habit. But analogy is not the proper term, as would appear from the second law. Scientists are aware of the fact that difference in pronunciation is due in some instances to difference in the larynxes of peoples. The French, the Welsh, the Magahis, as also the Telugus and many others can not pronounce an initial conjunct s. The Latin spiritus is French esprit, Welsh yspryd, Magahi **इस्पौरिट** through English spirit. Again Lat. schola is Fr. escole (later ecclle), Welsh ysgool, Magahi **इस्कूल** through English school. English station is Mag. **इसटौसन**; Sk. स्त्रौ; Mg. **इसतौरौ**; Tamil **इस्तिरि**; Lat. scutum (a shield); Welsh ysgwyd; Lat. sperare (to hope), Fr. esperer. Magahi has no **श, च, क, ग**, and Magahi women, children and adults of the illiterate class (I have found even educated adults unacquainted with Urdu who) find it very difficult to pronounce these sounds. Therefore these sounds of Persian and Arabic words are changed into the nearest sound in Magahi. The first law is thus divisible into two subsections, (a) relating to those changes which are due to physical causes¹ and (b) relating to those other changes in the process of naturalisation which are due to analogous causes, viz. phonetic habit,² e.g. being unused to pronounce certain sounds, conjunct letters.

Examples.

1(a) Some examples of the working of this subsection have already been given. More of them follow. Germ. binder, Magyar pinter; Germ. beck, Magyar pek; English gold,

¹ Taylor: Origin of the Aryans, pp. 274-279; Max Müller: The Science of Language.

² Max Müller: Science of Language, Vol. II, p. 206.

Kafir ingolido, English camel, Kafir in-camela. The English th (थ) is changed into d by the Negroes, into z by Swiss, f by the Russians. Thus Theodore is Feador in Russian. Something like this has happened between Latin fumus and Greek thumōs. Latin rufus, which is connected with Greek eruthōs, has also been so affected. Latin pondus, Teu. phunt; Latin pilum, Teu. pfeil; Teu. blaifs, Slav. chlebu. The Chinese have to turn every foreign r into l before they can pronounce it.

The proto-Aryan tongue must have had a z and its aspirate, for they are found in most of the principal Aryan dialects, e.g. Av. Zato (Sk. जतः), Zarayo (Sk. जरयः), vazrēm (Sk. वज्रम्) Lat. Zephyrus, Lith. Žemyana (Per. زمين), but they are not found in the Vedic and Sanskrit languages. These have not been changed into the nearest existing sounds in Sk. i.e. ज, झ, but they have disappeared altogether. Only in certain circumstances can their mark in modifying other sounds in the words containing those sounds be traced (Macdonell's Vedic Grammar for Students, pp. 17, 18 § 15.2h).

The Chinese "reduce foreign words to one syllable when they have to repeat them...The Chinese at San Francisco, I am told, invariably say, Morn'Mis'stan', instead of 'Morning, Mr. Stanford.' Foreign words of one syllable, which were borrowed by the Assyrians, had to be semitised by the addition of a consonant or semi-consonant."—(Sayce : Principles, pages 18 fn. and 78.)

Similarly there were short e and o as is evidenced by the Greek and Lithuanian languages. It is altogether non-existent in Sanskrit. Max Müller is of opinion that it is found in some places in the R̥g-Veda, and in the Prakrit and Pali languages final e and o may be considered either long or short. When by reduplication कृ becomes कैकृ [short] in Sk. and Cakhrarē (they did) in Avestan, that is कृ is replaced by कै unlike दा, पा which reduplicate with letters of their own class, philologists see therein the influence of a lost short e. They cannot account for this abnormality on any other ground. This is supported

by analogous cases in Greek, e.g. Sk. ददृश Gk. dēdōka; Sk. वसुधुः Gk. Pēphūāsi; Sk. तस्मिन् Gk. tēstamen.¹ Avestan has also a short e and short o. So have the Dravidian tongues. From this it is clear that Sanskrit has resulted from the proto-Aryan or proto-Indo-Iranian language being spoken by an alien race.² This by the way, amongst others, is a very strong rebutting evidence against any suggestion of an Aryan immigration into India in any large number. I confess I have been compelled to give up a very old prejudice. The cerebrals which are the distinguishing feature of the Indian branch of the Aryan tongues—they being totally absent from the other Aryan tongues, are not the monopoly of the Dravidian languages but are found in Tartar tongues also such as those which influenced Sindhi.³ The race which was Aryanised in tongue in India was thus not Dravidian-speaking then.⁴

In Dravidian languages there is no *au*. When, therefore, Sanskrit words containing the diphthong are borrowed it is decomposed into a and u with the usual euphonic *v*, e.g. Sk. सौख्यम् Tam. सवुक्कियम् (Comp. Dr. Gr. p. 136). Tamilians cannot easily pronounce an initial *r* or *s* and therefore Sanskrit words beginning with *r* and *s* are prefixed by a vowel in their language—Sk. राज्ञी Tam. इरायन or रायन् or अरयन्; Sk. रेवति Tam. इरवति (? Comp. Dr. Gr. has इरवति, single त); Sk. रक्त Tam. इरक्तम् अरक्तम्; Sk. रव Tam. अरवम्; Sk. लोक Tam. उलोगम् उलगम् उलगु (Comp. Dr. Gr., pp. 143-4).

¹ Mulvany: Indo-European Languages, p. 65.

² Dr. Bühler (On the Origin of the Sanskrit Linguals, Madras Journal of Literature and Science, July 1864, p. 118) has justly pointed out "that the possibility of the borrowing of sounds by one language from another has not been proved." Rather the evidences available prove the opposite. The presence in abundance of cerebrals in Vedic and their entire absence in the sister languages is the most rebutting evidence of the gratuitous theory of Aryan immigrations and invasions.

³ Comp. Dr. Gr., pp. 56, 60 [Henceforward I use these abbreviations to denote Dr. Caldwell's Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages].

⁴ See also Comp. Dr. Gr., pp. 53, 54, for some of the reasonings. Dr. Caldwell also could not throw off his prejudice,

1(2) When any language does not contain any native word with a particular sound, and it borrows any word with that sound from another language, that particular sound is changed into the nearest but usually less difficult sound—in most cases of the same *varga* (class) existing in that language; i.e., ञ into ईरि, क्—क्, ख्—ख्, ग्—ग्, क्—ग्, ग्—ज्, च्—श्, ज्—श्, ज्—ज्, ज्—ज्, श्—श्.

Pers. شریشت Mag. सोरीस्ता; شهبالا—सहवाला; خرگوش—खरगोश;
خجک کتلا (खचकलला); خدیر سرای—खीदरसराय; غفران—
गफूरन Sk. शुष्क—सुख (perhaps this is an organic development);
Eng. Zero. जीरो; Ar. ظام Mag. जुलुम Pers. بازار—बाजार; هزار—
हजार.

In Dravidian¹ (specially Tamil and Malayalam), Ugrian (Finnish, Lappish, etc.) and in the Scythian version of the Behistun

¹ The phenomenon presented by Gāthic Avestan has not been explained as yet. Its words invariably end in long vowels. Even where, as in the vocative of a-declension, Greek, Latin, Yasna Avestan, Vedic and Later Sanskrit agree in having a short ending vowel, it has a long one (yas 28, 2; Jackson's Avesta Grammar sec. 26). Dr. Haug (Essays, e'c., p. 54) has attacked the problem. But he has failed. The analogy of Sāmaveda does not help us in the least. There are no abnormal endings in it; and one cannot say that any grammar existed when that Veda was written down; so that the abnormalities were removed. To me it appears that we must seek for its cause in the shifting of stress—accent to the final syllable, for we find that a Gāthic word which has the abnormal long vowel at its end when alone, sometimes reverts to its short vowel when followed by a long-vowel-ending enclitic, e.g. *vohucā manaphā*, beside *vohū manaphā* (Av. Gr. sec. 26 note). This clearly shows foreign influence—I mean that it shows that the Gāthās are the work of a foreigner writing in Avestan—as Indian English is pronounced with different accents even in the different provinces. For had it been the peculiarity of any section of the Avestan-speaking people, we must have got its trace in their later vernaculars and literature. At pp. 189-191, 198-202 it will be shown that Zarathustra the reputed author of the Gāthās was an Indian and this fact will explain this abnormality too. On a closer examination it appears that most of the Vedic noun forms end in a long vowel and that whenever the Yasna Avesta differs from the Gāthic Avestan and Vedic (Av. Gr. sections 222, 236, 243, 254, etc.) the last two languages almost agree. The modern vernacular of the Delhi region, where I place Zarathustra's home, has this tendency of ending in long vowels from of old (cf. Joshi's Marathi Grammar, pp. 8-16). It is due to the stress-accent falling on the last syllable. Such phenomena have not been discovered in Media or Central or Western Asia. Gāthic, therefore, is some Dehlavi's Avestan. [I propose to deal with this point at fuller length later.]

In any case it is important to notice, that Zarathustra's name is naturalised in the Gāthās and its final vowels are made long, e.g. Introductory verse to the Ahunavaiti Gāthā; yas. 33, 4; 46, 14. Zarathustra could not have been of Persia—he was not of the place where the Gāthā religion was preached (yas. 43, 7)—for neither the Yasna Avestan, the Behistun Avestan, the Pahlavi nor any Persian vernacular, modern or old, has or had an invariable ultimate accent.—See post pages 198-202.

inscription, only surds begin a word, while either a sonant or double surd is pronounced in the middle. When, therefore, these languages borrow any word which does not conform to this rule, modifications are made in it accordingly—Sk. दंतम् Tam. तंदम्; Sk. माद्य—Tam. पाक्षियम् (Comp. Dr. Gr. p. 138); Sk. मंटप, Tam. मंडबम्; Sk. अल Tam. अदम् (Dr. Gr. p. 142); Sk. लोक, Tam. उलोगम्. There are no aspirates in Dravidian languages—hence Sk. लौख्यम् is सवुक्कियम् (may also be सवुगियम्) in Tamil. In the Dravidian dialects other than Tuda, “f is unknown, and”, says Dr. Caldwell, “p is used instead in words containing f borrowed from English.” The influence of some such rules is found in Magyar modification of Germ. binder, beck, into pinter, and pek. In Tamil c is pronounced something like ś, and therefore we find the Portuguese writing Soramandalam for coramandalam. Other examples are sandal for Candana. A very deceptive Tamil loan word is प्रेवम् (prayer) which is from Sk. अप and not from सेवा (service). The Greek transformation of Sk. Candragupta into Sandra-kottus might easily be ascribed to this influence, but for the fact that Tamils are separated from the Magdhis by the Telugus and Gonds who do not so pronounce c and j (Comp. Dr. Gr. p. 140).

There is no ऋ, ॠ or ॡ in Avestan.¹ Kərəsāni² has been therefore, equated with Sk. कृशातु (Mills—see J.B.B.R.A.S. Vol. XXIV. pp. 525, 526), Griffith, Tr. Rv. Vol. I. p. 248 (note to RV. I. 112. 21). Kṛsānu is the protector of Soma in RV. I. 112. 21; 4. 27. 3; 9. 77. 2. To equate it with Kərəsāni is unjustifiable and there are many reasons against it. First, Kṛsānu, being found only in the Rg. Veda, if identical with Kərəsāni, cannot be said with any reason to have been borrowed by Iranians from India subsequent to their separation from the Vedic-speaking people. These words then ought to have descended from a third and they should therefore have conformed to the phonological rules found existing between the two dialects.

¹ Av. Gr. sections 1, 6, 11 and 100.

² For want of proper types I cannot represent it as I should.

But this is not the case. For (a) the *s* of Vedic is represented by *s* in Avestan (see Jackson's *Avesta Grammar*, ss. 146—148), (b) the Vedic *u* is represented by Avestan *u* or *ū*, never by *i* (ibid. ss. 15, 20, 21).

Secondly, as I just mentioned, *Kṛṣānu* is the protector of Soma in the *Rg-Veda*, while *Kērēsāni* of Avesta is opposed to it (*Av. Yas. IX*, 24). If at all, it should be equated with some other Sanskrit word. Dr. Modi (*J.B.R.A.S. Vol. XXIV*, pages 525-526) says that *Kērēsāni* was a foreigner and king of India. It appears to be true. So far known, Soma was worshipped in India and Iran only. There was no king in Iran who bore this name, and excepting Zarathuštra, no one in Iran ever condemned its use (see Haug's *Essays* p. 154 fn.)¹ In India too there is a distinct mention of only one person vested with kingly powers who promulgated a very strict rule against its use, that is against मधुपानम् (drinking of wine, मध् being a later times synonym of साम). There is not much mention of Soma in Paurāṇik literature where this tradition is recorded. And that person was no other than *Kṛṣṇa*. The two names are very similar in sound and that is enough compliance with Inorganic Philological Laws (1b and 2), the Organic Phonological Laws being quite inapplicable here. The story of *Kērēsāni* as found in Avesta is also identical in some details with the story of *Kṛṣṇa* as found in the *Purāṇas* and the *Chāndyoga Upaniṣad*;

(1) *Kērēsāni* treacherously (1) *Kṛṣṇa* Devakîputra was said "noit me apām āthrava a disciple of Ghora Aṅgīrasa aiwishtish veredhyê danghave (Chāndyoga Up. III. 17.6). charāt" which as rendered into From an examination of various English by Dr. Modi means, passages in the Vedic and later "may no Ātharvan teacher sanskrit literature, it appears move about in my country for clear to us that there were two

¹ Dr. Mills (*The Five Zarathustrian Gāthās*) puts the same interpretation on *shyāmadahya*—that intoxicating liquor—the Soma (48, 10). So Moulton—*E.Z.* p. 71.

spreading his faith.”¹ So classes of priests connected with non-R̥g Vedic rituals, Kērēsāni was opposed to the Athravans. The priests in that is the popular cult. They Iran were called Athravans, were called Atharvans and while the same word in India Angiras and were opposed to denoted a popular class of each other (see introd. to Tr. priests who were orthodox and Atharvaveda by Bloomfield, opposed to the Angirasas, one S.B.E. Vol. XLII. pp. 18, 19, of whom in the Chāndyoga also Atharva Veda by the Upaniṣad is represented to have same author in the Ency. explained away the Vedic Indo-Aryan Research. sacrifices, and another, viz. Cyavana is, in the Purāṇas, said to have introduced an innovation which brought the wrath of Indra on him (M. Bh. III. chs. 124, 125).

(2) For this anti-Athravan (2) M. Bh. (Maṇṣalya proclamation, says the Yasna, parvan ch. 1, last verses) says “H(a)oma lowered Kērēsāni, that Viśvāmitra, Kaṇva and dethroned him from his throne.” Nārada (all of the orthodox Cyavana is said to be a Bhār- school) cursed the Yādavas gava Angirasa in the Śatapatha that they would be destroyed, Brāhmaṇa IV. 1, 5, 1. In the and so by order of Kṛṣṇa and

¹ Dr. Mills read apās for apām and translated it as follows:—“No priest behind (and watching) shall walk the lands for me, as a counsellor to prosper them.” Though it does not affect the main point to be compared, it is clear that Dr. Modi’s translation does the least violence to the text and is yet sensible. I, therefore, prefer to follow Dr. Modi here. (J. Pom. Br. R.A.S. Vol. XXIV. pp. 525-26). Dr. Mills published a critical translation of the Pahlavi Text of this Yasna IX.49-103 in J.A.O.S. Vol. XIV. pp. 64-76. The one remarkable matter that we get from it is that “Hōm deposed from the royal authority *those who are of the Keresā(n)i party*” (p. 69). We are reminded here of the Paurāṇik curse on Yadu that his descendants would never be kings. Coupled with this is the tradition that not Kṛṣṇa alone but the whole Yadva race was destroyed. The Yasna is also critically translated in Dr. Taraporewala’s selections from the Avesta, pp. 2-50. Both the forms ‘danghave’ (Modi’s) and ‘dāinhava’ (Taraporewala’s), at p. 10 of his Selections appear to me to be incorrect. Vide Av. Gr. § 265. But I have not here Geldner’s Avesta and so cannot give the correct reading. It is, however, immaterial here. What is of importance is that none of these then accept Dr. Dames’ theory of a reference to Alexander by Kērēsāni. Mr. Modi ably refutes him in his essay On the Age of Avesta in his Asiatic Papers.

Viṣṇu¹ and Bhaviṣya Purāṇas. Angirasa is the name of a Veda of (a set perhaps of) the Parsis—Haug (Essays, p. 12) says there were many sects. Zarathustra according to Haug (ibid p. 250) exhorted his party to revere and respect the Angra² (Yas 43, 15).

others the use of Madhu² was prohibited on pain of being hanged to death. The end was their total destruction. The certainty of this tradition is secured by the fact of its being found in substantially identical details in Jaina literature (Jaina Harivaṃśa, ch. 61 vs. 34-36) and Buddhist Jātaka (Ghata Jātaka, No. 454). The Jaina Harivaṃśa says that the Ṛṣi responsible for the destruction of the Yādavas was Kṛṣṇa-Dvaipāyana and one would have hesitated to accept this had not Kautilya in the fourth century B. C. declared the same fact (see Ramshastri's trans. pp. 12-13.)

What Ferishta has written about Raja Krishna resembles to a great extent the story of Kṛṣṇa (see J.R.A.S. Bom. Br. Vol. XXIV. page 509). We shall presently see that Zarathustra is also a loan word from Sanskrit and represents Yudhiṣṭhira, and the fact that Zarathustra banned H(a)oma (Yasna 48, 10) and revered and respected the Angiras [Yasna, 43, 15; see also Haug's Essays, p. 154 fn. and 250] is quite in consonance with this identification. For, from the evidence collected by Moulton in his *Early Zoroastrianism*, it is proved that it was the very

¹ Noted by Bloomfield in his Introduction, S.B.E. Vol. XLII. p. XIX.

² Madhu is wine in later literature, but in Vedic literature (e.g. RV. 1.25.1 see also Griffith's footnote thereon), it is a synonym for soma.

³ Dr. Moulton at p. 15 of his last work (*The Treasure of the Magi*) remarks that "the old word aravan, 'fire priest', is entirely absent from the Gāthās, in all probability by deliberate exclusion." I may here remark also that the H(a)omd Yasna is strikingly very close in style and spirit to the portions of Ait. Br. (VIII. 21, 23) describing the great effect of Mahābhīṣka in which drinking of Soma mystically forms the most important item.

Magha priests against whom, besides the Indian Usigs and Kavis, Zarathustra thundered in his Gāthās,¹ whose descendants deified him in their later Avesta.

In English there is no Kḥ, g, K and ch and hence we find kh, g, k and c respectively in their stead in loan words, e. g. Pr. کنگوب kinkob; Ar. القاهرة Cairo; Ar. قهوه coffee; Ar. غزال gazelle; Ar. غربله garble; Ar. مسخرة (Sp. mascare, Fr. masque); Eng. mask; Hind. चिन्ट, chintz; Ar. قاضي cadi.²

Arabic has no g (ك) and hence Persian گزمر becomes جـ in Arabic, Pr. گارمیش is Ar. جاموس.³

Owing to a peculiarity in Marāṭhī pronunciation, k and g are often changed into kh and gh, e.g. Ar. Kumash, Mar. खुमाश Ar. دماغ Mar. दिमाख; Ar. नन्द Mar. नगद (so Magahī) Ar. नगा Mar. नगाडा (Marāṭhī and Magadhī); Ar. مرقف बुखा Mar. मरफ़ बुख़ा—मलाक़त—मलाख़त, Pr. खबतर क़तर, Mar. खबतर बुदर (Marāṭhī and Magahī) सजाव, सजाव बुदर.⁴ Besides these, the changes in Marāṭhī loan words generally resemble the Magahī loan words. The examples just given are peculiar to Marāṭhī, being not found in Bengali, Hindi or Magahī.

In Arabic س and ص, ت and ث represent distinct sounds but in Persian they have all coalesced into one sibilant, although the *maulanas* preserve the original letter in writing. For example the initial sounds of سرکار عزت and صادق, ثابث are indistinguishable from the mouths of even *maulanas*.

Second Law.

Whenever one language borrows any word from another language, the loan word is attracted by similarly sounding words or the nearest rhyme word existing from before in the borrowing language, the result being that the loan word becomes almost identical in sound to the attracting word or words by (1) dropping some letters or (2) by adding to itself some more letters.

¹ See also L. A. Waddell's review of the book in J.R.A.S. (1914), page 781.

² Mulvany, Indo-European Languages, pp. 103-105.

³ E. Rehatsek, Indian Antiquary, for 1874, pp. 290ff.

⁴ Marathi Grammar by R. B. Joshi, pp. 536-541.

We may call it symphonization. Max Müller calls it false analogy or infantine analogy.¹ Sufficient attention, however, has not been paid to it. Students of the science of sound know how when two objects are similarly tuned, the sounding of one brings forth similar sound from the other. In psychology we have the law of association—one impression from without calling forth to the mind similar impressions existing from before. Singers know how difficult it is to begin a tune when a different tune is played or sung. Perhaps, the ethical effect of company (good or bad) is due to the operation of some such law. And so, if we find a law operating in the domain of language corresponding to those in the physical, mental and ethical world, we need not feel surprised. Rather psychology would point to its necessity. Metaphysically its cause is better explained. It is in the nature of human mind to bring the Unknown to the Known ; give meaning to the meaningless. It does not shirk any risk in the operation. On first hearing an unknown word, the nearest known word is called up to the mind by the law of association and in reproducing the unknown it makes it as near as possible to the known word by adding, subtracting, expanding, and contracting vowels and consonants. Its effect has been acknowledged in organic changes in languages. It is by means of this that the *ā* of Pr. *هشت* (on the analogy of *هفت*) is explained. Otherwise, in conformity with its representatives in the other sister languages (Sk. *अष्ट* Germ. *acht*, Eng. *eight*, Lat. *Octa*, Gk. *Okto*, Hin. and Mar. *आठ*) we should have had a vowel as its initial.² Similarly Italian *essendo* from Lat. *essere*, Italian *credendo* from Lat. *credere*.³ The *l* of *could* is to be attributed to the influence of analogy of *would*—for in German we have *konnte* from *konnen* (= Eng. *can*) and had the law not any influence here we must have had *cand*. We should here bear in mind that the ancestors of present day Persians, English, and Italians spoke other languages, quite different

¹ The Science of Language, Vol. II. page 221.

² Mulvany : Indo-European Languages, page 62.

³ Max Muller : The Science of Language, Vol. II. p. 221.

from what their descendant speak. They learned the Aryan tongues as foreigners. Examples, however, of inorganic changes governed by this law are as follow :—

Second Law (A)

From *خاجه کلان گهت* we have Mag. खाचकल्खाघाट (we have खच in खचखच and कल्खा in कदमकल्खा from before), ऐजन from *ایضا*. Latterly when from Eng. engine we had इनजन, अ'जन (by I B and 2 A) with an anusvāra, the former also coalesced into the latter and became ऐ'जन too. But engineer remained इनजीनीअर; suspend became सिसपिंज (analogy सीस and पंजा); superintendent सोवरनडंट (An. सोवरन and डंट); Lord लाट (An. लाट, लाटा); *فأرن* (An. फोरन) time टैम, टेन and on its analogy we got टैन from train; tight टैट; right रैट; rate रैट (analogy ऐट बैट); lantern लालटैन (An. लाल and टैन above); auger आगर (An. गुनागर). It is called गौरमीट, too, but I do not know its origin. At least, government is also गिमिट; Master मिसतीरी (An. इस्तीरी). From *شغل* we got सगल, but owing to the influence of अकल (from *عقل*) and अकल (from *شکل*), सकल is spoken more often; *انصاف* बीसाफ (An. बीसान) *علم* इलम (An. कलम from *قلم*); High Court-हैकोट (An. हैकोट); *تحت دودमत* (An. दोहमत=perhaps, don't milch); in Ben-nagar Pali inscription Antialkidās has become अंतलिक्कितस् influenced by अंत and लिखित. In old French they had fleüte, from which probably the English got flute. The latter appears to have influenced lute from Ar. *العود* Ar. *رباب*—rebeck (An. Rebecca, Bible Genes's xxiv. 60) *شاه*—chess—(An. mess). But *شاه مات*—check-mate (An. check, mate); *مسجد*—mosque (An. mask, bask); *طرحه* (Ar.=what is thrown away) tare

¹ Epigraphia Indica, Vol. X appendix—quoted in Early History of Vaishnava Sect by Hemachandra Ray Chaudhri, M.A., Lecturer in History, Calcutta University, at pp.13 and 59.

According to Mulvany. But Sir William Jones desires it from S चतुरङ्ग through Pers *چترنگ* Ar *شترنج* into (axedrez, scacchi, echecs) chess. (See Dr. 'Modi's article entitled Origin of the Game of Chess, in his Asiatic Papers Vol. II pp. 95, 96) It is interesting to note here that rook (of chess) is रथ which was, first persianised into رخ (ibid. p. 92).

(weight of a wagon or ship) (An. hare, fare). (It is to be noted that these words were obtained from the Moors through Spanish and French. Analogous words in the first instance should be sought for in those languages, which I don't consider myself competent to do). Gk. horus, Sk. ह्रीडा (An. होडस, [but the right analogous word would be होड, historically, for when it was borrowed, Prākṛit was spoken, and this word must therefore have influenced it]; diametron (Gk.) जामित्रम् (An. जा, मित्रम्); Aries क्रिय (An. क्रिया); Tauru तवुरि (An. तंवुरा); Gemini जन्त्रितुम् (An, जेतुम्); Leo लेय (An. देय, लय); Scorpio कौर्यय; Capricornus चाकोकोरो (I do not see any connexion between some of these. I have put them down here simply because they seem to be so derived by Svāmī Vijnānānanda, the translator of Vṛhājātakain, The Sacred Books of the Hindus Vol. XII. p. 16, ed. 1912).¹ लखनौ has been anglicized into Lucknow (An. Luck, now), सिपाही into sepoy (An. Troy, toy boy). Ar. سچيل is a very old word found even in the sacred Quran (XI. 84; XV. 74; CV. 4). But it is really a loan word from Persian سنگى and کل (?) (meaning a seal). The Muhamadan divines also perhaps accept it as such. It bears influence clearly of انجيل and كبريل Arabic abounds in such analogous words viz. تعميل تكميل etc. The most interesting history in this connexion is of هندية It means Geometry in Arabic. Some derive it from Persian هند' saying that الف became ه and ج became س² But this much also is narrated that because Mathematics

¹ Svami Vijnānānanda does not seem to have had access to Greek originals. L. von Schroeder in his "Indiens Literature and Cultur" gives better comparisons. They are quoted in Dr. Bannerjee's Hellenism in Ancient India, pages 153, 159. But the Sanskrit original book being not with me I am not in a position to say how far they are correct. I give them below, however, as they are. "So Ara—Ares; Heli—Helios; Jyau—Zeus; Asphujit—Aphrodite; Kriya—Krios; Tavuri—Tavros; Pathona—Pardenos u. s. w. Kendra—Kentron; Apoklima—Apoklima; Trikona—Trigonos; Jamitra—Diametron; Dyutam—Duton; Panaphara—Epanaphora; Liptā—Lepte; Anapha—Anaphe; Sunapha—Sunaphe; Drakna—Dekanos, u. s. w. Dr. Jolly [quoted by Dr. Bannerjee in his same book, page 203], on the other hand, gives the following comparisons to prove the loans from Sanskrit to Greek:

*Peperi-pippali, P ereoriza-pippalimula, Costus-kustha, Ziggihoris-srngavera
Kardamomos-Kardama, (ela) hakoros-yaca, Bdellion-gugulu Sakkaron-sarkar
u. s. "

² E. Rehatsek, Indian Antiquary, 1874, pp. 290 ff.

came mostly from India, some derive it from هند giving its meaning as Indian science. The present rule supports this latter derivation and rules out the former until the analogous word is pointed out (with full reasonings) which influenced such a change. From Persian گامیش the Arabs got جَامِوس on the analogy of قَامِوس.

Second Law (B)

(In symphonizing irrational consonants are added, if the addition in any way tends to suggest any known thing to the speaker).

When the co-operative societies were first started in the Nawadah Subdivision, the villagers called the society सुरसुरी influenced by the same word which means a peculiar sensation in the nose. Nowadays they mostly call it सुसेटी We have जरनैली from "generally" (general, जरनैल) (An. करनैल, colonel). To me it appears that the original, has been dropped and another added, or it may have been transposed. Bow-Bazar बहुवाजार, Signal सिक्कन्दर An. सिक्कन्दर, سکندر, Alexander). In English, examples of the working of this law are to be found in words derived from Arabic, Persian and Hindi. But, as many of these have come through Spanish, Italian and French, the analogous words which influenced them are to be sought for in those languages by those sufficiently at home in them. Being convinced, however, of the influence of this law on their formation I give them below as examples of its working.

Check from شاه مات in check-mate; baldachino¹ from بغداد (It. baldachhino, Fr. baldaquin, a canopy, It. Baldaceo—Bagdad from where the silk for the canopy was obtained); admiral¹ from Ar. اميرالبحر through French; palanquin from पालकौ. It is said, it is derived from पलंग, or rather for closer similarity, Sk. पल्लव is brought forward. But since this word has been recently introduced into the English language it must be a loan word from Hindi. To me it, therefore, appears that the French baldaquin influenced its formation. Artichoke¹ Jerusalem is

¹ Mulvany: Indo-European Languages, pp. 103-105 and Chambers Twentieth Century Dictionary.

a very good and strong proof of the soundness of this law and I make no apology for bringing it forward here. It is the name given to the sunflower brought from America. It has got absolutely no geographical connexion with Jerusalem, Artichoke old It. *articioeco* (It. *carciofo*)—old Spanish *alcarchofa*, Ar. *الكرشوف*. To it was added *girasole* (It. *giratory* and *solor*) and as Jerusalem was the nearest sound-kin having any sense, it obtained possession of this new article. But the process did not stop here. Jerusalem, as every Englishman knows is in Palestine and so the soup of this newcomer belonged to the latter. It is, therefore, now called Palestine soup.¹ In Hindi this artichoke has become *हाथीचक* (a kind of grass). Who can now say that the dominion of symphony extends thus far and no further? Coachman is *कोचवान* in Hindi (Urdu) on the analogy of *गाड़ीवान*, but in Magahi it is *कोचमान* and this had influenced the latter word also into *गाड़ीमान*! "Proper names," says Dr. Sayce, "have naturally been the special subject of popular etymologizing; there is nothing else in language which so quickly and thoroughly changes its form; and yet since everything must have a reason the assumption is irresistible that they once had a meaning. Thus as my friend Professor J. Earle tells me, there are two neighbouring places in Somersetshire called Salt-ford and Fresh-ford. The first was originally Salford (sallow-ford, the willow-ford); but when the Saxon *salh* (*salig*) died out of use, a slight change of pronunciation altered the unintelligible salford into the intelligible saltford, a change facilitated by the neighbourhood of the corresponding Fresh-ford."² Beefeater is really buffetier and Brasenose College is Brasen-huis (brewing house),—queer victims of symphonization.³ But who will admit easily that Chateau vert has been metamorphosed into Shot-over by English travellers,

¹ Mulvany: *Indo-European Languages*, p. 103.

² Sayce: *Principles*, p. 379. [I mean Dr. Sayce's *Principles of Comparative Philology*].

³ Ibid p. 301.

especially when Dame Tradition has already sanctified it by relating that it is so called because Little John shot over it.¹ The English further got the following words from languages foreign to them at the time they adopted them, by adding letters to suit their ear. Lend (A.S. *lænan*), riband (Fr. *ruban*), thunder (A. S. *thunor*), tender (Lat. *tenere*), jaundice (Fr. *jaunisse*), lehest from behæst, amongst from amanges, tyrant from old Fr. *tiran*, parchment from *parchemin*, ancient from *ancien*, impregnable from *imprenable*, nightingale from A.S. *nihtegal*, messenger from old Fr. *messagier*, passenger from *passagier*, popinjay from *papegai*, groom from A.S. *guman*, horse from *hos*, cartridge from Fr. *cartouche*, corporal from *caporal*, culprit from *culpa*, partridges from Fr. *perdix* which itself is from Lat. *perdix*.² "Foreign words of one syllable which were borrowed by the Assyrians, had to be semitised by the addition of a consonant or a semi-consonant." (Dr. Sayce p. 78.)

A word belonging to one language cannot be derived from the roots of another language according to the peculiar laws of the latter. This is an axiom of Philology. Owing to the differentiation in languages, the features (form, pronunciation, accent, etc.) of every word of one language are quite different from those of similar words even in sister languages. (If any word has identical features in any two languages, it cannot be said to be the peculiar property of any, e.g. *ब्रह्म*, *ब्राह्म* in Sk. and Av.) Therefore, though Sk. *भ्राजते* and Av. *brazati* are similar; to derive *brazati* from *भ्राज्* by the rules of Pāṇini would be to throw away into the sea the labours of 125 years in evolving the science of philology.

The corollary of the above is of profound interest to Inorganic Philology. I call it, the third law, therefore. It deserves the first place. The reason for my not giving it that honour is that I had to establish the necessity of the study of such a branch first, this third law will now show its usefulness. This law may be stated as follows.

¹ Sayce: Principles, p. 319.

² Ibid., p. 28-30.

Third Law.

If a word in any language is not derivable from any of its roots by the established laws of its internal development it is a loan word from a different language.

I would have called this an axiom also had there been not many doubts apparently about its soundness owing to its profoundness. I have often seen one jolly rustic fellow enquiring about the name of the village of a relation, with whom it is allowable by our custom to cut jokes, and the other tauntingly naming the enquirer's village in reply. The former is not put out, he instantly enquires about the father's name of the latter who is thereupon confounded. The urchins round about then lustily begin to cheer and exclaim "Caught! caught!!" The principle of this law is the same, only there is no lightness of spirit.

One possible objection to it, which a learned friend of mine did once actually make in the course of a conversation, is that it does not apply to all cases. Agni and such other words are not derivable from any Sanskrit root. Are these then loan words too? I say, very probably. Philologists are of opinion that these words were in existence before the existence of the Aryan tongues—which means the same thing.¹

As for myself so far as I have had reason to declare any word as of foreign origin on the strength of this law I have found other proofs also. I have already fully discussed Kṛēśāni.² Indra is another word about which philologists from Sāyānācārya down to modern Orientalists, have not been able to come to any conclusion.³ Now there are many other independent proofs of this god being of non-Aryan origin. I summarize them below :—(1) Only Indra has got beards like the Chaldean gods (see RV. II.11, 7; VIII. 36, 6; X. 23, 1 and 4; X. 26, 7; —Agni's flame is also compared to beards, but this, of course,

¹ Mulvany: Indo-European Languages; page 17.

² At pages 187-189 ante.

³ See Sāyana's commentary on RV. I, 4, 1 and Lassen's Ind. Alt. Vol. I. page 756, fn. 3.

was not meant really; so the mention of Puṣāna's beard only once, is only metaphorical). (2) The Aryans did not know of any idol.¹ If we have any reference to it at all in the R̥g-Veda, it is of Indra's, RV. IV. 24, 10; VIII. 1, 5. (3) In RV. he is called "god of the Kuśas" (I. 10, 11), and in old Hebrew and Greek literature, Cush is the name given to the Chaldeans. (Besides on a thorough examination of the old Babylonian literature, it is clear that its old inhabitants who brought culture and civilization into the land, spoke two dialects called Eme-Ku (the language of Sumer) and Emesal (the language of Akkad ?).² The name Kusha might have originated from these native designations of their dialects) (4) In RV. X. 124, 2, he is clearly called a stranger and a guest of other lineage (X. 124, 3). (5) In many places in the R̥g-Veda (VII. 19, 2a; 19, 6a; 20, 2a; 21, 5a; 21, 6a; 22, 1a; etc.)³ this word has to be pronounced as a tri-syllabic word, as indicated by the metre. This is really what is strictly required by the laws if it is a corruption of the Chaldean Indra Im-dingir—In-da-ra, influenced by candra, andhra, vr̥itra and mitra—also perhaps by Tamil Indru—now; mundru—then, ondru—one, and the suffixes—gindru, anindru. Vr̥itra and Mitra exist at least from Indo-Iranian times as is proved by Vereteghna and Mithra in Avestan in regular organic forms. That Indra is also there, proves nothing conclusively, for there he is totally different from the Vedic Indra—probably due to later introduction.

The third word on which I have pondered seriously is Zarathuṣtra—the name of the Prophet of the Parsis. In the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (Art. Zarathustra, p. 1048), Geldner says that the meaning of this word is uncertain, though Ustra certainly forms a part of it. How, when the whole is uncertain, the part only becomes certain, is more than any logical mind can

¹Taylor: *Origin of the Aryans*, page 309.

²Journal of the American Oriental Society, Vol. XXIV. pages 104-106—Dr. Prince's article.

³Lectures on R̥g-Veda by V. S. Ghatge, M.A., Professor of Sanskrit Elphinstone College, Bombay, page 213.

comprehend. In the Century Dictionary Cyclopædia and Atlas¹ the authors frankly confess their inability to trace the origin of this word. Sanskrit and Avestan words have been thoroughly analysed and the laws governing their development stated. Pāṇini and others in India and Bartholomæ and others in Europe have left very little to be desired. Almost every word has been treated. Then, why this uncertainty? Recently Sir G. Grierson has published a book giving an account of three Iranian dialects. A notice of it appeared in the January number of J.R.A.S. 1922 (pages 102-3). He has proved therein that Avestan is connected with the Bactrian dialects and sometimes in contradiction to new Persian. This finally settles the Bactrian origin of the Gāthās. But the Gāthās themselves prove the foreign origin of Zarathuštra. The evidences of his having been a foreigner in Bactria are as follows:—(1) His name is not derivable from any Avestan root. (2) The Parsi sacred literature cannot with certainty point out where their most important personage Zarathuštra was born.² We have not there any sufficient account of his boyhood and adult life. (3) In some verses of the Gāthās which are reported to be his compositions, it is clear that some other person is speaking. For example in Yas. XXVIII. 6 we read “do thou (bestow) spiritual help on Zarathustra and to us (ahmaibyāśā)” This is explicable only on the ground that he being a foreigner, could only understand it, but not speak it—his own language being closely allied.³

¹ Vol. IX, page 1081.

² Ency. Britt. art. Zoroaster by Geldner.

³ Zarathustra is very often spoken of as “renowned in Airyana Vaejah” (Yas. 9. 14, *srūtō airyano vaejahe*). This A. vaejah has not been localised with any degree of certainty. May even say it is mythical. [Jackson’s Zoroaster, p. 196] But Yudhistira was certainly renowned in actual Aryavarta. In his history Ibn-al-Athir (A. D. 13th century), who had access to many old sources, refers to a tradition about the prophet which said distinctly “that he was a *foreigner*.” It is related therein quite pathetically that before he was listened to by Bishtasp he offered his teachings to the princes of India, China and Turkestan, “but not one of them would receive him” [ibid. p. 200]. In Dasātir we have a curious tradition of Biās (vyās) going to Zarathustra to refute his teachings, but of being himself converted [ibid. pp. 284, 285].

(4) The most convincing proof of his being a foreigner is in the fifth Gāthā (Yasna XXXII. 8). On an examination of the whole of Sanskrit and Avestan literature it is clear to every student that while the Indians claimed their descent from Manu son of Vivasvat, the Iranians I think, originally claimed descent from his brother Yama.¹ Each of the two peoples highly respected their eponymous ancestor. Had Zarathustra been an Iranian claiming descent from Yama-Vivanghanta, he would not certainly have dubbed him "the worst of sinners." It could have been avoided. There was certainly no direct occasion for it. (5) There is absolutely nothing in ancient Iran or western Asia to connect Zarathustra's high, noble and beautiful monotheistic doctrine of One Just Almighty God. "Whence did," rightly exclaimed the late lamented (perhaps also the last English) Avestan scholar, Dr. Moulton, "whence did the Sage of Iran receive his axiom in an age when men had not even realized that God is One?"² He explained it doubtingly by postulating intuition which means he could not explain it reasonably. (6) But if he was an Indian, as he indicates in Yas. XXXII. 3 ["such the daevas are famed for in the Seven (—Sindhvās)"] *cf.* R.V. VIII. 41, 9] and as is also apparent from his using closely allied metres, Vedic technical words (Daēvō-zuštā) often in the same order [मन वच कर्म—मनश्चिचा वचश्चिचा। स्वयञ्चोयनोइ (Yas. 30, 3)] peculiar Indian style [questioning first, answering next³ we have got a name nearest to his, held in very high respect here, viz. Yudhiṣṭhira. That the latter is very old is apparent from the structure of the word itself. It is formed

¹ J. Dramsteter (S.B.E. Vol. IV page XXV section 38).

² The Treasure of the Magi, page 19.

³ Yasnas XXXIV. 12; XLVI. 14; LI. 4-6. Gītā. II. 54-ff; III. 36-37. RV. I. 24, 1 and 2. About half of the Gāthās of Zarathustra is in what we may call ancient Avestan Śloka metre, very closely allied to the metre of the Gītā and Indian Gāthās. There is a deeper connexion between the two. It will be observed that the priests connected with Kṛṣṇa cult, who later got possession of the Mahābhārata and other Purāṇas had attached some esoteric meaning to the

(See next page.)

of not Yudha—the later form, but of Yudh—the root noun, the oldest Vedic form. The words nearest it in Avestan and which naturally would be the words to influence its naturalization in that language are Frashaostra (Yas XXVIII. 8-6) and Khrafstra (Av. Gr. Sec. 144 Note I).¹ If the anonymous writer in the *Modern Review* (1922, page 482) is to be believed, the Kossier race used to worship Sureja according to Professor Jonson. The Kossiers are, no doubt, the Kassites of others and the Sureja the Sk. Sūrya. This will show that Sk. Y had approached J about the fourteenth century B.C. and we know that the Avestan-speaking people had a liking for Z, more so as original J was sometimes represented by Z in their dialect

number 18. The Gītā has 18 chapters. M. Bh., which was originally of 100 divisions, was reshuffled by additions and subdivisions into 18 Parvans. The Purāṇas were 18 in number and so the Uṇ-purāṇas. The Gāthās of Zarathustra, which were originally 17 in number, were made into 18 by the addition of an introduction of one verse. The Mahābhārata war lasted for 18 days. There were 18 akṣauhunis engaged in war. The order of Preface (Yas. 28), Introduction (Yas. 29), Creation (Yas. 30) and Doctrine—in the Z. Gāthās—is strangely corresponding to the order of the Gītā—Chapter I Preface, Chapter II—Introduction, Chapter III—the old doctrine enunciated with a reference to the creation. Just as in the Purāṇas the advent of an avatāra is preceded by the wailing and prayer of the Cow representing the earth, we have almost the same introductory scene in the Gāthā of Zarathustra—Yas 29, 1—‘To you cried the Kine’s soul, for what did ye form? who made me!’ etc. etc. (I am sorry I cannot proceed here further for want of space. I hope my Zarathustra will be out soon). The Gāthic Avestan unmistakably has foreign accents—identical with the vernacular of Delhi religion, see ante page 185 fn.

¹ It would be a long digression to give reasons for the fact that the identification of Kērāsāni with Kṛṣṇa does not collide with the identification proposed here. We should only remember that both Kṛṣṇa and Zarathustra banned soma drink (Yas. 48, 10) and Athravan priests; while Indian Brahmanas and the Magis were equally favourable to them (Soma and Athravans.) (See Moulton’s Early Zoroastrianism and S.B.E. Vol. XLII, pages xviii, xix. Introduction by M. Bloomfield). The later Avesta in which the Kērāsāni legend is found, are the works of the Magi. They appear to have been first opposed to Zarathustrianism, as the Vedic Brahmanas were to Kṛṣṇaism, but both later became its staunch advocates and supporters. Both worship God under the same names—Baga,—Bhagvat; Madhava—Mazdāo, a deity whom they opposed before. (See discussion above under Kērāsāni.) The following further facts most

(See next page.)

[see Jackson, Av. Gr. section 167 and Wilson Philological Lectures by Dr. Bhandarkar (elder) page 36]. Besides there is no Dh in Avestan : the nearest sound is th of then (see Av. Gr. section 9) which sounded something like d also. This was the sound of the middle letter of Zarathustra as is clear from its later form Zardust. That Zarathustra was really not only a namesake of Yudhiṣṭhira but identical with him, I have shown in my paper Zarathustra—Yudhiṣṭhira, now in the press. To summarize the arguments even would be impossible here. But this at least may satisfy some readers that the Jaina Harivamśa distinctly says that Yudhiṣṭhira became a muni in his last days, went to Pallava country and was initiated there by Varuṇa (J.H.V. Ch. 64) while the Parsi tradition says that the future prophet of Iran would come from India—perhaps an inference from memory of past events (see Modi, J. Bom. B.R.A.S. Vol. 24, page 525ff.) Dramsteter, in his introduction to Vendidad etc., S.B.S. Vol. IV, sections 4 and 5, very aptly compares Ahura Mazda to Varuṇa.¹

It would not be out of place here to quote in extenso Dr. Caldwell's tests for distinguishing a native Sk. word from Dravidian

strongly prove the Indian connexion of Zarathustra and his Gāthās. The e of ere which is corresponding to r (Sk) is not counted in the Gāthic metre. So is the auxiliary u (e.g. in Viduṇe-Yas. 44, 3). Va and ya are often counted as double syllables as in the Veda (Haug's Essays, page 138). The most distinguishing feature of the vernaculars that arose out of Sanskrit round about the Delhi region is the predominant use of instrumental instead of nominative. It had its beginning in the gradual disuse of verbs in Sanskrit, their place being taken by participles. The cause to my mind was the dominating influence of Upanisadic cult, which taught all action as proceeding from the Genderless One, through the instrumentality of worldly beings. In the Zarathustrian Gāthās, Dr. Moulton as struck by "the recurrent use of instrumental case for nominative", saying that it "may perhaps be assumed to have some syntactical ground, though it is hard to find one." (Early Zor., page 15 fn.) *The ground is found now.* That some Iranians resided in the region round about Delhi between 1800—909 B.C. or that, which is more probable, some Indians from that region emigrated to Bactria during those periods is made certain by the astronomical record in the Tistriya Yāsht (ibid pages 23-25).

¹ Compare the Parsi tradition in the Dasátir about the conversion of Vyása Zarathustra (see ante page 199 fn.)

loan words : “ (i) When the word is an isolated one in Sanskrit, without a root and without derivation, but is surrounded in Dravidian by collateral, related or derivative words; (ii) when Sanskrit possesses other words expressing the same idea, while the Dravidian tongues have the one in question alone; (iii) when the word is not found in any of the Indo-European tongues allied to Sanskrit but is found in every Dravidian dialect however rude; (iv) when the derivation which the Sanskrit lexicographers have attributed to the word is evidently a fanciful one, while Dravidian lexicographers deduce it from some native Dravidian verbal theme of the same or a similar signification, from which a variety of words are found to be derived; (v) when the signification of the word in the Dravidian language is evidently radical and physiological, whilst the Sanskrit signification is metaphysical, or only collateral; (vi) when native Tamil and Telugu scholars, notwithstanding their high estimate of Sanskrit, as the language of the gods and the mother of all literature, classify the word in question as a purely Dravidian one;—when any one of these reasons is found to exist, more especially when several or all of them coincide, I conceive we may safely conclude the word in question to be Dravidian, not a Sanskrit derivation.” The following examples will serve to illustrate the above tests :—

Dr. and Sk. अक्का (mother), अत्ता, अत्ति (mother, elder sister, elder sister of the mother), अटवि (jungle—sanskritists derive it from अट्, but अड meaning nearness) is especially Dravidian. केल्वि (hearing) is from Dr. केल (to hear) अखि (the nail of a cart), अंबा, अंब (mother, father) अलि, कट्क, कटु (pungent—wrongly derived from Sk. कट् to go), कला (art), कुटि (cottage), (Tamil कुडि—house), कूल, नीर (water Dr. नीर, नीरु—this is the only word for water in Dravidian). मीन—fish (sanskritists derive it from मी to give pain—but it cannot be right. Its derivation from Dr. मि, to shine is simpler and more beautiful; Dr. मीन् a star; अडुमीन् Pleiades. Besides मीन is the only word in Dravidian meaning fish, while in Sk. we have मत्स्य

also.¹ मल्य is said to be derived from Sk. मल् to contain, to hold. But this is absurd beside Dr. मल, मल्ल a hill, a mountain.²

Third Law (A).

If in the quotation from Dr. Caldwell we substitute "one language" "former language" for "sanskrit", "another language" "latter language" for "Dravidian language", "tongues," "the allied tongues of the former language" for "the Indo-European languages allied to Sanskrit," "every dialect of the latter language" for "every Dravidian dialect" and make similar other changes in the rest of it, we, by the addition of the following seventh clause, make it of universal application. In any case it ought to be considered subsidiary to the third law.

"(vii) When the latter language is a sister language of the former and the former contains any word which is also found in the latter language, but the form which the word has in the former language violates any law established by comparative philology of the two languages;" for example, German Kaiser, Latin, Caesar.³ According to these tests Vedic मना, Latin mina, Greek mnâ have been declared to be loan words from Semitic or more accurately Sumerian source.⁴ Latin bovm is also a loan word from some Italian dialect because it has been established by comparative study that in Latin, Sanskrit and Greek original sounds of क्वर्ग are not represented by V or p. Following these reasonings also, perhaps, it has been declared that the Teutonic languages have borrowed Celtic cultural words. Teu. pfunt (=Latin pondus), pfeil (=Latin pilum) are loans from Latin. And similarly Slav Chlebu (=Teu. hlaiſ) was borrowed from the Teutons.⁵ Gathic andbahts (=Celt ambactu) is a loan from the Celts).

¹ Avestan masyō (Av. Gr. section 143).

² Dr. Caldwell's Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages, pp. 566-7 (ed. 1913).

³ Mulvany : Indo-European Languages p. 65.

⁴ Sayce : Principles of Comparative Philology, p. 209-2; Rajazin's Vedic India, p. 305. ⁵ Taylor : Origin, etc., pp. 195-196.

Fourth Law.

In grammatical treatments loan words generally follow the rules applicable to native words to which they resemble nearest in outward form, or are regulated by the peculiar acquired habit of the language.

Exception.—Sometimes learned men try to perpetuate abnormalities by introducing foreign grammatical forms, too, with the words.

Examples.

Latin.—Nouns are declined in five ways—those whose genitive and generally other case endings are joined to the stems by (1) â, (2) ô, (3) î, (4) û and (5) ê. The declension of words borrowed from Greek generally depends on their final pronounced vowel. Thus Ossâ, Electrâ, Circâ, Aeneâs, (so also hyperbölê, Geōmetrês) are declined according to the first declension; Dêlôs, Andrögêôs, Orpheus according to the second; Isis, Dîdô, Atreus, Trôâdes according to the third. No examples can be found for the fourth and fifth.¹

Persian.—There are two signs of the infinitive دن and تن, and two modes of conjugation, regular and irregular. Loan verbs add only دن and are conjugated only in the regular way—چلیدن, چلیدن. Exceptions and overcoming of exceptions by natural law are also exemplified in the plurals of Arabic loan words.

Hindi (Urdu).—All Persian verbal nouns (ending in ش) are treated as feminines—आज़मायश, फ़र्मायश। Police, therefore, which appears like these, has also curiously been in this age of reasoning become feminine. Besides it (Hindi) has got double plurals for the same words, (1) original plural, e.g. افعال (2) naturalized plural فعلونکو.

Sanskrit.—Grammarians seldom treated any word as foreign because they fancied they could find a Sk. root for every word they knew. Foreign words were therefore not treated separately by them. But from all that can be gleaned from Sk. literature

¹ Smith's *Principia Latina*, Part I, pp. 115, 116, 119.

it appears to follow the law e.g. मना in RV. is followed by हिरायवा¹ and is apparently in the instrumental form and was therefore treated as ending in अ। So are Greek words treated in Vṛhājatakam of Vārāhmihira—ch. 1 vs. 3, 8, 18; ch. 11 v. 2—
तौचिक आकीकरो हृद्गच्छ; हेलिः सूर्यः ।

In German, Iren is added to form a verb from a foreign word but no ge is prefixed to the past perfect.² The conjugation is regular otherwise. There are five kinds of declensions of nouns. Those in point are the two of masculine nouns (1) those that do not end or did not end in e (strong) and (2) those which end or ended in e (weak). The former are subdivided into those which are (1a) monosyllables, these are generally made of two syllables by adding e in the plural; and (1b) those which are not monosyllables so need not be made dis-syllabic by adding e. Now neuters ending in e, en, er are considered strong and declined as belonging to (1a). So foreign nouns ending el, an, ast, er, or, were by analogy of the neuters considered as strong masculines, and ought to have been declined as (1b) had it not for popular etymologising that they had no e and therefore must have e's in plural, thus bringing them under (1a). Those that did not end in al, an, ast, en, or, were of course considered and treated as falling under (2).³ Those endings which mnemonically are called eleneor are very important in German grammar and determine many forms. Feminine nouns have only one declension. They add e or en in plural. So do the loan words. In the valley Alleghanies the Germans made fencen from English "to fence".⁴

In French, all fresh verbs (from noun or foreign languages) are conjugated only according to the first conjugation. Foreign nouns generally conform to its organic laws as regards declension, genders and numbers. But some foreign nouns either

¹ VIII. 78, 2.

² Beresford-Webb's German Grammar, section 208.

³ Otto's German Grammar, page 22.

⁴ Dr. Sayce: Principles, page 83

⁵ Ibid, page 365.

do not add the sign of the plural or retain their native signs ;¹ e.g. (no plural-sign) un amen (Hebrew), un crédo (Latin) un fac-simile (Latin), un post-scriptum (Latin) (with native plural signs) des aldermen (English), des dilettanti (Italian), des gentlemen (Eng.), des gipsies (Eng.), des lazzaroni (Italian).

In *English*, the foreign verbs are generally conjugated according to the regular form-vetoed, out-Heroded. The nouns have the general sign of plural. The pedants have preserved some foreign plurals also—indices, formulæ.

In *Tamil*, *Robert de Nobilibus* and other Tamil writers tried to introduce the Sanskrit superlative suffix *tama*, for Tamil has none, but they failed.² The Tamilian still says "Amongst animals the tiger is cruel one." He treats the Sk. loan words as if they were Tamil—Sk. *purusha*—Tam. sing *purushan*—plural *purushar* or *purushanmar*.³ *Am* is a noun formative participle in Tamil. Thus from ✓ *nil*, to stand, they have *nilam*, ground, ✓ *aṛ*, to be deep, *aram*-depth. By false analogy the *am* of Sk. neuter nouns, when they are borrowed in Tamil, are supposed to be an essential part of the word and so used as if they were a portion of the inflexional base. And so it is found in all the cases of the plural and in nominative alone of the singular as in other Tamil words. Sk. loan words ending in *am* in Tamil and *amu* in Telugu become adjectives by the rejection of *m* or *mu* in imitation of the Sk. rule (which uses only the crude form in *Samās*), e.g. Tam. (*Subam*—goodness *dinam*—day) *suba dinem*—good day.⁴ Dravidian nouns of every description can be used as an adjective by adding on to the stem the relative participle of become—Tamil *āna*, *āgum* (also *uḷḷa*) Telugu *agu*; Canarese *āda*. These are especially used in the case of Sanskrit loan words on account of their greater length and

¹ J. N. Shopkeeper's French Grammar, page 20.

² Caldwell : Comp. Dr. Gr., page 318.

³ Ibid, page 256.

⁴ Ibid, page 310.

foreign origin—Tam. Ugarvāna (that which was or has become lofty) = loft.¹

In *Arabic*, the plural of جرهر (from Persian گره) is جرهر of جرهر - جرهرين.² Of course جرهر has in Persian a plural جرهرات and in Hindi a treble plural जवाहराती की.

¹ Caldwell : Comp. Dr. Gr., page 316.

E. Rehatsek, Indian Antiquary, Vol. for 1874, page 290.

IV.—Maharajah Kalyan Singh's Khulasat -ut-Tawarikh*

Translated by Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Husain Khan-

Farrukh Siyar.

On his arrival, Zulfikar Khan wanted to set up Moizuddin on the throne again, and opposed Farrukh Siyar, but his father dissuaded him from taking such a step. Zulfikar Khan yielded to his father's instruction, but wanted to proceed to the Deccan. Asad Khan dissuaded him, to which he submitted, and agreed to pay his respects to Farrukh Siyar. Two days after the battle Farrukh Siyar made his public appearance in the morning. Chin Kulich Khan, Abdus Samad Khan, Muhammad Amin Khan and other Turani Sardars appeared in the Darbar through the intercession of Abdullah Khan, made their obeisance to the King, and gave him nazars in honour of his accession to the throne. Abdullah Khan, Lutfullah Khan and others took leave from the King to look after the administration of the metropolis, and Farrukh Siyar himself left for Shahjahanabad after one week. Reaching Barapul on the 4th Moharrum 1124 Hijree, he pitched his camp. Nawab Asad Khan with his son Zulfikar Khan appeared before Farrukh Siyar with hands tied together and were summoned before His Majesty. With his own hands Farrukh Siyar untied the hands of Asad Khan and Zulfikar Khan, spoke to them very kindly, honoured them with Khilats, and directed Asad Khan to go to his house at Shahjahanabad. He ordered Zulfikar Khan to stay out in a tent, as he had to make certain enquiries from him. After making their obeisance to the King, Asad Khan and Zulfikar Khan left the Imperial presence. Asad Khan went to the city and Zulfikar Khan

*Continued from J. B. O. R. S., 1920, p. 442.

waited in a tent which was pitched for him outside the Imperial camp. Soon after some men went to him on behalf of Farrukh Siyar and in an angry and disdainful tone began to put questions to him relating to the murder of Azimushan, Jahandar Shah and Raful Kadr. As Zulfikar Khan was a man of great self-respect and was prepared to meet his death, he replied in a haughty language. Farrukh Siyar's soldiery then surrounded him and a slave of Farrukh Siyar put a noose round his neck from behind him and drew him to his side when he was stabbed. Moizuddin Jahandar Shah who was imprisoned in the fort was also assassinated that day. The corpse of Zulfikar Khan was tied to the feet of an elephant and dragged through the streets of Shah-jahanabad with the dead body of Jahandar Shah placed on the back of the elephant. Asad Khan was imprisoned and all his and his son, Zulfikar Khan's wealth and properties were confiscated and taken possession of by Farrukh Siyar. This was the date of the downfall of the family of Asad Khan. Farrukh Siyar ordered Azizuddin the son of Moizuddin, Ali Tahawwar the son of Azam Shah, and his younger brother Humayun Bakht to be blinded with a pencil applied to their eyes. On the 27th of the same month he entered the fort with royal grandeur. He sat on the throne in the morning, and all the nobles made him obeisance. On Saiyid Abdullah Khan he conferred the title of Kutub-ul-Mulk and appointed him to the office of Prime Minister. On Hosain Ali Khan he conferred the title of Imam-ul-Mulk and appointed him to the post of Amir-ul-Umra and the first Bakshy. On Muhammad Amin he conferred the title of Etmad-ud-daula and appointed him to the post of second Bukshy. On Chin Kilich Khan he conferred the title of Nizam-ul-Mulk and appointed him the Subadar (Viceroy) of the Deccan. On Khwajah Yasin he conferred the title of Samsam-ud-daula Khan Dauran, and appointed him to the post of Haft-hazari and to the command of 7,000 cavalry. On Ahmad Beg he conferred the title of Gaziuddin Khan Bahadur Ghalib Jang and appointed him to the post of Shast Hazari and to the command of 5,000 cavalry. On Kazeer Abdullah Turanee he conferred the title of

Khan Khana Mir Jumla and appointed him to the post of Haft Hazari and to the command of 7,000 cavalry. On Muhammad Jafar Munshi he conferred the title of Takarrub Khan and appointed him Lord Chamberlain and the head of the ministerial department. Saifullah Khan was given a responsible post and other nobles who had rendered him service in his journey and in the war were also given suitable posts and titles of distinction.

The thought that they had placed Farrukh Siyar on the throne and had rendered distinguished service to him in his war against Moizuddin Jahandar Shah and that they were men of great influence and position possessing formidable armies, turned the heads of Saiyad Abdullah and Hossain Ali Khan, and wishing to carry on the administration of the country without the interference of all the other nobles and state functionaries, they began arrogantly to swerve in their allegiance to their royal master and benefactor and plotted to thwart his designs. The Khan Khana Mir Jumla Abdullah Turanee, the Etmaduddaula Mohammad Amin Khan Turanee, the Samsamuddaula Khan Dauran, Khwajeh Yasin, and other nobles who were opposed to Abdullah Khan and Hossain Ali Khan went on intriguing till at last they succeeded in turning the King against them. Thus it was that the schism between the King and the two Saiyad brothers reached its climax. In the meantime Amirul Umra Hossain Ali Khan, who had been deputed to chastise Rajah Ajit Singh Rathore succeeded in prevailing upon the Rajah to present money and his daughter to the King. Having completed his mission Hossain Ali Khan made his appearance before the King and presented His Majesty with money and the daughter of Rajah Ajit Singh. But intriguers were busy in their work and from the intrigues at work against them the two Saiyad brothers felt convinced that the King was plotting to arrest them. With a view, therefore, to protect their lives and properties they busied themselves in equipping the army, and building ramparts round their houses,

and stopped going to the King. The relations between them and the King however were much strained. At last Farrukh Siyar's mother at whose instance the terms of the mutual obligations, between Farrukh Siyar on the one side and the two Saiyad brothers on the other, were settled at first, came to the Syeds' house and ratified the treaty with fresh vows and renewed promises. The Saiyads then went to the fort and presented themselves before the King. They themselves asked for the pardon of their offences, and unfastening their swords from their waists placed them before the King, remarking to him that if they were considered guilty both their swords and their necks were at His Majesty's disposal, but if it was deemed improper to take their lives in consideration of their past services, they might be permitted to resign and go on a pilgrimage. But if the King needed their services and wanted them to remain with him, he should not listen to the malicious advice of the mischievous backbiters and put his devoted officers to humiliation and disgrace.

It was at last settled that Mir Jumla be sent as Subadar of Bihar and the Amirul Umra sent to administer the provinces of the Deccan. Thus it was that Mir Jumla left for Azimabad as a Viceroy of Bihar, and an imperial order transferring the Nizam-ul-Mulk and Daud Khan from the Deccan was made over to Amirul Umra Hossain Ali Khan. Hossain Ali Khan began to make preparations for his journey to the Deccan. But before setting out for the place, he busied himself in arranging the marriage of the daughter of Raja Ajit Singh Rathore. He undertook this with a view to please the King and bore all the marriage expenses on the side of the bride. He arranged everything on a grand scale and in a right royal manner. His arrangements of the table, of the music hall, of the fireworks and illuminations were such as no pen can describe. The dowry and the paraphernalia were magnificent. Like an Indian bridegroom, Farrukh Siyar proceeded to the house of Amirul Umra Hossain Ali Khan with all pomp and grandeur. After going through the matrimonial rites, the King had his

nikah performed, and then returned with the bride to the fort with band playing.

It was at this time, in the fifth year of the reign of Farrukh Siyar corresponding to the year 1128 Hijrah that Abdus Samad Khan Bahadur Delair Jung, the Subadar of Lahore, captured after much warfare Guru Govind, the head and leader of the Sikhs, and sent him to the Emperor by whose order most of the Sikhs were killed. Soon after this, after finishing his urgent business, the Amirul Umra Hossain Ali Khan Bahadur left for the Deccan with a powerful army. Farrukh Siyar secretly wrote to Daud Khan to the effect that he should get rid of Hossain Ali Khan in the way he thought best in consideration of which he would be given the Viceroyalty of the whole of the Deccan. Daud Khan was delighted to hear this and advanced to Bijapur setting forth his claims to the permanent Viceroyalty of the Deccan. He took the Mahratta Sambaji Scindia to his side. Hearing of the attitude Daud Khan had taken the Amirul Umra Hossain Ali Khan wrote to him to the effect that as the administration of the whole of the Deccan was vested in him (Hossain Ali Khan) it was meet and proper that Daud Khan should do him homage and come to receive him and abstain from further action. Daud Khan did not accept the proposal of the Amirul Umra but defied him and advancing from Bijapur pitched his camp. On one side stood the Amirul Umra with 20,000 horse and on the other Daud Khan with his army. The battle commenced with cannonading. Both the contending forces fought well. Much blood was shed and personal bravery was shown on both sides. Daud Khan was killed by a musket ball and his army thereupon took to flight. Amirul Umra gained the day and looted the camp of the enemy. All the things of Daud Khan's encampment, such as elephants, horses, cannons, etc., etc., came into the possession of the Amirul Umra. The Amirul Umra tried his best to manage the affairs of Burhanpur, and was engaged in the pacification and administration of the Deccan for a long time.

During the period Farrukh Siyar sometimes p'otted to arrest Qutubul Mulk and sometimes to make friends with him. When these double dealings reached their climax and the Amirul Umra heard of them in the Deccan repeatedly, he was compelled to arrange for a journey to Shahjahanabad. Kutubul Mulk sent word to Farrukh Siyar that he and his brother were ready to make obeisance to him, in case he sent their enemy Rajah Jaya Singh to his native place, and put the fort in their charge. Farrukh Siyar agreed, and on the 3rd Rabiussanee of the same year, Jaya Singh left for his country. The fort was then put in the charge of the Syeds. With Maharajah Ajit Singh Rathore and other trusted man of his, Qutubul Mulk made his entrance into the fort and turned out the servants of the King. Placing his own men in different places, he bolted the doors of the fort. When this was going on inside, Hossain Ali Khan stood outside the fort with his strong force. Qutubul Mulk arrested the King in a treacherous manner and confined him in a dark room, two months after which the Syeds murdered him by dragging him with a noose put round his neck. Farrukh Siyar reigned six years four months and a few days.

Rafi-ud-Darajat and Rafiuddaulah.

When Farrukh Siyar was imprisoned by Qutubul Mulk, Shamshuddin Abul Barkat Rafiuddarajat, the son of Rafiul Kadr, the youngest grand son of Bahadur Shah, was placed on the throne. Now it was that the Syed brothers appointed on their own behalf the officials of the state and became the defacto rulers. With great disgrace, they imprisoned Etkad Khan and others whowere the adherents and supporters of Farrukh Siyar and confiscated and kept their properties. Shamshuddaula Mohammad Amir Khan was retained in his post of the second Bakhshy and Saifullah removed and Zafar Khan appointed the third Bakhshy. The Viceroyalty of Malwa was given to Intizamul Mulk. Sar Baland Khan was sent to Kabul and Saifuddin Khan the youngest brother of the Amirul Umra appointed the Faujdar of Moradabad. Mohammad Raza was appointed the

King's Kaziul Kuzzut (Chief Justice) and Meer Khan Alamgiree the Sadrus Sodoor. Horses, elephants, cash and whatever else was liked by Hossain Ali Khan and Abdullah Khan were taken by them from the Imperial Treasury. Three months and a few days after Rafiuddarajat died on the 21st Rajab of the same year of the disease from which he was suffering from before.

The Syed brothers placed his brother Rafiuddaula on the throne and took the entire management of the country just as before. During this period Nekoo Siyar the son of Mohammad Akbar who was imprisoned in the Akbarabad fort won over the sentinels and the Hazaras who guarded it and raised the standard of revolt. Hearing of this, Hossain Ali Khan and Abdullah Khan took the King with them and marched with a large and powerful army. They captured the fort, arrested Nekoo Siyar, put him in prison and severely punished the guards. Rafiuddaulah died of consumption from which he was suffering since a long time. When Rafiuddaulah was seriously ill, the Qutubul Mulk and the Amirul Umra sent their men with all speed to Shahjahanabad to bring prince Raushan Akhtar, the son of Jahan Shah. This prince was a handsome young man 18 years old. He was forthwith brought to Akbarabad and placed on the throne of India on the 15th Zikad 1131 Hijree, under the title of Naziruddin Mohammad Shah Ghazee amidst the rejoicings of the royalists. Mohammad Shah Nawab Kudsia Begum, the mother of this august King, was a very clever woman and always acted with great tact and judgment, and in all matters consulted the Prime Minister, the two Syed brothers and respected their opinions. A month after she went to Akbarabad from Shahjahanabad to see her son. The old servants of her husband Jahan Shah deceased wished to give her a public reception, but she declined the offer, and established cordial relations with the Syed brothers. At the instance of the Syed brothers it was decided that the reign of Mohammad Shah be reckoned from the death of Farrukh Siyar and that the reigns of Rafiuddarajat and Rafiuddaula and the revolt of Nekoo Siyar be not taken into account. A personal

allowance of Rs. 15,000 was settled on Nawab Kudsiya Begum. The Golal Barah, the Nizarat, and the appointment departments remained in the hands of the trustworthy men of the Syeds just as during the reign of the two previous Kings. The eunuch, the drivers of elephants, the retinue, the kitchen servants, the menials and others were appointed from among the servants of Abdullah Khan. Himmat Khan was appointed by the Syeds as the King's tutor. Mohammad Shah did everything with great caution, kept the most intimate relations with the Syeds and never did anything without consulting them. The Syeds became powerful and such was their domineering influence that they became a trouble to the King as well as to most of the nobles. The King used to talk on estate matters with Mohammad Amin Khan in the Turkish language, and Mohammad Amin Khan would communicate that to Nizam-ul-Mulk till at last a dispute arose between the Syeds and the Nizam-ul-Mulk, who advanced from Malwa with his army and crossing the Narbada entered the Deccan. He captured most of the forts from the men of Amirul Umra and gradually came into possession of the whole of the Deccan. Amirul Umara made preparations for a journey to the Deccan and wrote to Dilawar Ali Khan repeatedly strongly advising him to oppose Nizam-ul-Mulk and awaited the reply to his letter. At last news reached the Amirul Umara that Dilawar Ali Khan was killed by Nizam-ul-Mulk. This was a great shock to the Amirul Umra and the Kutubul Mulk and a matter of great satisfaction to Mohammad Shah and Mohammad Amin Khan. Amirul Umra wished to kill Mohammad Amin Khan who he thought was the source of these troubles ; but Kutubul Mulk felt scrupulous in the matter and did not agree to the proposal. In the meantime news came from the Deccan that Alum Ali Khan who acted in the Deccan as a Deputy on behalf of the Amirul Umra opposed Nizam-ul-Mulk on the 5th Shawal with 50,000 horse. Alum Ali Khan fought with great bravery but was slain by Nizam-ul-Mulk and all his properties which were left after plunder came into the possession of

Nizam-ul-Mulk. This sad news made the Amirul Umra and the Kutubul Mulk very anxious. In the meantime news was brought that the garrison of Daulatabad had shown great kindness to the relatives of the Amirul Umra and gave them refuge in the fort before the arrival of Nizam-ul-Mulk's force. Hearing this Amirul Umra felt much relieved. But at the same time he heard that Mobaraz Khan, the Subadar of Haidrabad, and Dilawar Khan who were brothers-in-law (Hamzulf) joined the Nizamul Mulk. After much consideration it was decided that Kutubul Mulk should remain at Shahjahanabad to act for the King and that Hosain Ali Khan should go to the Deccan with the King with a view to chastise Nizam-ul-Mulk. This being determined Amirul Umra began to equip his army. At last the Amirul Umra set out for the Deccan with the King and such other Rajahs as had acknowledged allegiance to him ; and with 50,000 horse and strong force of infantry and artillery Amirul Umra himself pitched his camp four miles from Akbarabad. Before taking leave of the King, Kutubul Mulk wished to celebrate the anniversary of His Majesty's coronation which was to take place on the 15th Zikad. Hosain Ali Khan did not agree to this, took the King with him and pitched his military camp at Fatehpur which was the first halting station. After a stay of three or four days he left for the Deccan, Kutubul Mulk leaving for Shahjahanabad.

As the King had no hand in the administration, nay in fact was placed on the throne by the Syeds, Mohammad Amin Khan and the other Turkoman nobles were very anxious of Amirul Umra. They plotted to assassinate him in the way because they felt sanguine that Nizam-ul-Mulk would either be defeated or killed when opposed by the Amirul Umra. This was a hazardous undertaking, and no one was considered to be entrusted with the work. It is said that Mohammad Amin Khan took into his confidence a Syed of Nishapore named Mohammad Amir Saadat Khan, who was in the army. Mohammad Amir selected Mir Haider Kashghari a desperate dashing young man for the work. Now a conspiracy of the

men was formed, and it was determined after mature deliberation that Mir Haider should not be deputed to the work. This desperate character kept with him a complaint drawn up against Mohammad Amin Khan, and taking a companion whom he considered to be the bravest and the fiercest of his associates, he departed. Now it was that Mir Hyder appeared on Wednesday, the 6th Zilhij 1132 Hijree at a halting place seventy miles distant from Fatehpore, at a time when the Amirul Umra was as usual going to his military camp in a palky, after having reached the King to his royal camp. Mir Hyder taking the complaint in his hand raised it, and began to complain loudly like ordinary complainants and to abuse Mohammed Amin Khan. The retinue of the Amirul Umra prevented the man from approaching their master. But fate would not have it and Amirul Umra permitted the man to approach him. Mir Hyder and his companion dismounted from their steeds and approached the palky of Amirul Umra. They made over the complaint to him, and ran holding the edges of his palky with their hands. When the Amirul Umra was engaged in reading the complaint, Mir Hyder drew a poniard from his belt and stabbed him in his heart, causing instantaneous death. But even in that moment Amirul Umra kicked the assassin in his heart saying "Man! why don't you kill the king?" The force of the kick gave a rocking motion to the palky and the corpse of the Amirul Umra fell to the ground. In the meantime Nurullah Khan the cousin of Amirul Umra struck down the murderer with his sword. The companion of Mir Hyder slew Nurullah Khan and Mir Ashraf slew the companions of Mir Hyder. Other Moghals now came crowding together and severing the heads of Amirul Umra and Nurullah Khan from their bodies brought them before the King.

At the instance of Mohammad Amin Khan and other nobles, the King mounted on an elephant, paraded his army and prepared himself for war. No sooner Izzat Khan the nephew of Amirul Umra heard of his uncle's murder than he marched against the King with two or three thousand horse that he could

procure in such hot haste. On the other side Haider Kuli Khan the Darogha of the King's artillery commenced cannonading. The King's musketeers reduced the number of the enemy. But Izzat Khan rushed on fighting with great valour and intrepidity. Qamrudin Khan and Saadat Khan came to the assistance of Haider Kuli Khan and fought bravely. Mohammad Shah himself shot arrows on the army. At this time Samsam-uddaula came to the King's assistance. It so happened that the musket ball of some of Haider Kuli Khan's men hit Izzat Khan on some delicate part of his body causing instantaneous death. His army took to flight and all the wealth and property of the Amirul Umra that was left after plunder came into the possession of the King. The victorious King entered the royal camp with pomp and grandeur, and all the distinguished nobles presented His Majesty with nazar and conveyed to him their most loyal and humble congratulations. The well-wishers of the King now felt much delighted at the thought that the King was quite free from the influence of Amirul Umra. Mohammad Amin Khan and other nobles, however, performed the funeral ceremonies of the Amirul Umra, Nurullah Khan and Izzat Khan. They put their corpses into green velvet-covered boxes, and after saying the funeral prayers (Nimaz Janaza) had their coffins carried to Barah under the guard of two horsemen so that the last remains of the illustrious men may find their restingplace in their family burial ground. After finishing these works the King, in recognition of his valuable services conferred upon Mohammad Amin Khan the title of Wazirul Mulk Zafar Jang, the post of Minister, and the position of Hasht-Hazari and granted him the privilege of keeping 8,000 horse. On Khwajah Yasin Samsamuddaulah Khan Dauran he conferred the title of Amirul Umra and the position of Hasht Hazeri, granted him the privilege of keeping 8,000 horse and gave him other jagirs. Qamruddin Khan the son of Mohammad Amin Khan was appointed the second Bakhshy and the head of the bathing department and honoured with the position of Haft Hazari. Haider Kuli Khan was given the

position of Haft Hazari, and the privilege of keeping 6,000 horse, and the title of Nasir Jang was conferred upon him. The title of Bahadur was conferred upon Saadat Khan. He was honoured with the position of Panj Hazari and allowed to keep Nakkara (musical instruments resembling drum, etc.) In the same manner royal favours were conferred upon Zafar Khan and the other servants and dependants of the King, according to their respective positions and stations in life.

Syed Abdullah Khan had reached eighty miles from Shah-jahanabad when he heard the news of his younger brother Syed Hassan Ali Khan's murder. This was really an unbearable shock to him, and he was overwhelmed with grief. But ambition got the better of him, and he resolved to kill his master and benefactor and at once proceeded to Shahjahanabad. On his arrival at Shahjanahabad he felt that the King's power was undisputed, that the adherents by whom he was supported had made common cause, and that, above all, his own army was demobilised. It was therefore, he thought, that with a view to oppose the King successfully it was necessary that he should have a prince of royal family on his side. With this object in view he released prince Sultan Ibrahim, son of Rafiul Kadr and grandson of Bahadur Shah from confinement, and placed him on the throne. Abdullah Khan moreover bestowed favours on the nobles resident in Shahjahanabad and gained them over to his side. He paid each of them from forty to fifty thousand rupees and generally assisted them till at last he could engage 90,000 horse in his service which cost him immensely. With all pomp and grandeur he took Sultan Ibrahim with him, and on the 16th Zilhij of the same year advanced from Shajahanabad. Expecting the arrival of the Sardars of Baraha he proceeded by slow marches till Chiraman Jath and the other Zamindars joined him at Balol. After passing the village of Shahpore Mohammad Shah pitched his camp, so much so that the two opposing forces were at a very short distance from each other. Mohammad Khan Bankash with 3,000 horse and Aziz Jan Khan Rohilla and Bazeed Khan with their forces joined the

royal camp. Maharajah Jaya Singh also sent His Majesty a reinforcement of about 4,000 horse. The whole army of the King consisted of 15,000 cavalry and 10,000 infantry in addition to artillery. After the opposing forces were aligned, fight commenced and cannonading followed. The struggle continued from dawn to sunset, causing great carnage and bloodshed. When night set in Abdullah Khan retired into his camp which was guarded on all sides with his troops.

Mohammad Shah remained mounted on his elephant the whole of the night, with his force surrounding him. But Haider Quli Khan, the Darogha of the royal artillery, slowly advanced his guns and cannonaded all the night through. This cannonading produced a very deadly effect on the enemy and many of them were slain and wounded and most of them took to flight. At daybreak only about 15,000 out of 100,000 horse were left with Abdullah Khan. Now Abdullah Khan mounted an elephant, and marshalling his troops, renewed the struggle, which raged most furiously. At about noon Haider Quli Khan, Samsamudaulah Khan, Dauran Khan, Ahmad Khan Bankash and other nobles of the court advanced and fought with wonderful courage and bravery. At the time when the battle was fiercely raging Syed Abdullah Khan, hoping to force back the imperial forces, dismounted from his elephant and with some Baraha Syeds stood sword in hand. Seeing the elephant of Abdullah Khan without a rider the imperial army thought that Abdullah Khan was killed, and made a dash on the remnant of the forces of Najmuddin Khan who was incapacitated from the wounds he had received. Haider Quli Khan and Samsamuddaula rushed on Syed Abdullah Khan. The remaining forces took to flight. At this time an arrow hit the forehead of Abdullah Khan. Haider Quli Khan recognised Abdullah Khan from a distance and captured him while some people captured Najmuddin Khan. Both these brothers were brought on an elephant before the King. But the magnanimous monarch was touched at the sight and gave them over to Haider Quli Khan with instructions to keep them in safe custody.

The King was victorious, and the high functionaries of the state presented him with nazars and conveyed to him their loyal and hearty congratulations. The victory was celebrated in a royal manner amidst the rejoicings of the people. The successful monarch entered the royal tent and the troops refreshed themselves after the fatigue of the battle. Whatever of the properties of Abdullah Khan was left after plunder, went into the imperial treasury; and the Syeds themselves had to pay the full penalty of their crime. Sultan Ibrahim fled from the battlefield, but was eventually captured, brought before the King, and confined like a royal prisoner. When peace was re-established Mohammad Shah bestowed favour on the nobles and the state functionaries. He honoured each and all with jagirs and khillats. On the 16th Moharrum he proceeded to the capital and on the 22nd Moharrum 1133 Hijrah he made his public entry into the metropolis through the Ajmere gate with a pomp and splendour which deserves a minute and graphic description. The royal procession was accompanied by elephants decked in gold and silver ornaments, and clad in rich and embroidered tapestries with gold and ornamented takhtawan, adorned with gold and embroidered coverings placed on them. The royal army and the nobles and grandees fully armed, proceeded in respectful array before His Imperial Majesty. Well trained horses in rich and beautiful attire passed along the procession. The King seated in all his magnificence in a golden domedary placed on the back of a huge elephant distributed gold mohurs amongst the poor and the needy and thus gave a finishing touch to the same which presented a unique and dazzling spectacle to the overjoyed populace. Nawab Kudsia Begum, the king's mother and the other ladies of the harem gave in alms golden and silver trays full of gold and silver coins in honour of the accession. They formed rings round him and offered to him their congratulations. By the end of the very month Saefuddaullah, Abdus Samad Khan Bahadur, Delar Jang, and his son Zakrya Khan and Aziz Khan, who by the King's order were coming from Lahore to meet His Majesty but who owing

to the long distance of the scene of action from Lahore, could not take part in the battle, presented themselves before the King, who honoured them with khillat and other gifts.

Raja Jaya Sing and Rajah Girdhar Bahadur presented themselves before His Majesty in the beginning of the month of Safer of the same year and became recipients of royal favour. The loyal congratulations of the Nizamul-Mulk, expressed in a representation, which was in reply to the royal firman, had reached His Majesty. A representation from Murshid Quli Khan the Viceroy of Bengal, with treasure and presents, also arrived at this time. The title of Moizuddaullah was given to Haider Quli Khan in addition to that of Nasir Jang. Jafar Khan got the title of Raushanuddaullah, and Saadat Khan Bahadur Jang was made the Darogah. During this period after a service of three months and twenty-two days, Mohammad Amin fell ill and died. On the 22nd Rabiussanee the third year of the coronation Enayet Ullah Khan Alum Geeri was appointed the minister, Saefuddaulah Abdus Samad Khan Viceroy of Lahore took leave and Kamruddin Khan was appointed Etmaduddaula a title formerly enjoyed by his father. Haider Quli Khan got the distinction of Firoz Jang and Saadat Khan Bahadur Jang was appointed Governor of Akbarabad. Mohammad Khan Bankash was appointed Governor of Allahabad. On the night of Tuesday the 19th of Safar 1134 Mohammad Shah was married to princess Zamania, daughter of Farrukh Siyar, with royal pomp and splendour. Just as is the custom in India there were grand festivities, dancing party, music and display of fire works and princess Zamania was installed as the Empress of India. Nizamul-Mulk started from the Deccan and reached Shah-jahanabad and on the 11th of Rabiussani of the same year appeared before His Majesty. On the 5th of Jamadilawal of the same year, he was appointed to the responsible post of the Prime Minister. On the 3rd of Jamadiul Akhir the Id festival was duly celebrated and on Thursday the 6th Rajab of the same year Raja Gujar Mal was appointed the Dewan of the private

estates of the Emperor. On the 9th of the same month Shaikh Sadullah was appointed Dewan of the Imperial Office.

As Haider Kuli Khan was acting against the wishes of Nizam-ul-Mulk, the Emperor sent him to the province of Gujrat. The Khan administered the province so efficiently that he excelled his predecessor in every respect and in a very short time confiscated the house and property of a rich millionaire Abdul Gafur Khan. He improved his own jagirs and the revenues of Gujarat and collected a vast amount of treasure. The success achieved by him gradually turned his head and he began like the famous Syeds to think of making himself master of the whole empire. He began to devise plans for disgracing Nizam-ul-Mulk. The King therefore removed him from Gujarat and conferred the sanad of viceroyalty on Nizam-ul-Mulk. On the 22nd Safar 1135 Nizam-ul-Mulk started for Gujarat. Barhanul-mulk Sabdat Ali Khan was transferred from the province of Akbarabad and Raja Jaya Sing was appointed in his place. Burhanul Mulk was appointed viceroy of Oudh. On the death of Chiraman Jath his landed property was made over to Badan Singh and Raja Girdhar Bahadur was appointed viceroy of Malwa. Nizam-ul-Mulk, while going to Gujarat, devised a plan. He wrote inflammatory letters to the Turani and Afghan chiefs of Haider Quli Khan and they rebelled against him. Nizam-ul-Mulk arrived near Gujarat. Haider Quli Khan seeing the hostile attitude of his military officers and finding himself too weak to meet Nizam-ul-Mulk successfully feigned illness and gave out that he was suffering from a sort of mania. He shut himself up in a ladies' litter and started towards the King. Nizam-ul-Mulk arrived in Gujrat and busied himself in the administration of the province. After the execution of necessary works he appointed his uncle as a deputy at Gujarat and directed his attention towards Malwa. He placed his cousin in charge of the province as his deputy and himself returned to the King. Haider Quli Khan returned to Shah-jahanabad and took his abode in his house. On the 13th of Jamdiulakhir 1135 was the new year's day and Neko Siya

breathed his last on this day. Imperial favours were bestowed on Haider Quli Khan who was appointed viceroy of Ajmere. Haider Quli Khan who was a brave warrior and an old enemy of Raja Ajit Singh attacked him with great force and in the end of Shaban of the same year defeated him and took possession of his province. Nizam-ul-Mulk was an ambitious man and wanted everything, such as influence, position, and power for himself to the exclusion of other ministers and nobles. He was unpopular both with the King and the court nobles. He too had reason to be disheartened and discontented. But shrewd as he was, he did not think it politic to raise the standard of revolt; at the same time kept himself aloof from the King and tried to find some excuse for resigning the post of Prime Minister. His motives were understood both by the King and nobles and he was offered the viceroyalty of the Deccan. He then appeared before the King and asked His Majesty's permission to start for his province. The King was most pleased to give the permission. Nizam-ul-Mulk proceeded towards the Deccan. On arrival he began to try his strength with Mobaraz Khan, Viceroy of Burhampore, who had become unruly and, by the grace of God, he defeated him. The gold mohurs and other presents that were received on the completion of the conquest with the booty that had been collected by Mobaraz Khan were sent to the King and Nizam-ul-Mulk busied himself in the administration of his province with zeal and energy.

Seven months after the departure of Nizam-ul-Mulk to the Deccan, Kamruddin Khan was appointed to the post of Prime Minister. The King called back Haider Quli Khan from Ajmere and conferred upon him the post of Mir Atishi. Azim-ullah Khan who was stationed at Malwa as the deputy of Nizam-ul-Mulk was removed, and he returned to Shahjahanabad. At the instigation of Nizam-ul-Mulk, Hamid Khan the Viceroy of Gujrat revolted. He confiscated and brought into his possession the jagirs of the big Umras of Gujrat. The King's courtiers were informed of this. They held a consultation among themselves and decided to crush Hamid Khan. Sar Baland Khan

was appointed to the Viceroyalty of Gujrat. A crore of rupees from the public treasury was given to him for military expenditure and on his recommendation Najmuddin Ali Khan brother of Qutbul Mulk who had passed his life in prison was released and ordered to accompany him. Sar Baland Khan and Najmuddin Ali Khan took leave of the King and both mounted the elephant and came to their camp. The old soldiers of the Syeds and those of his friends crowded round Najmuddin Ali Khan and were made into a decent army. Sar Baland Khan was an old and experienced chief, and a recognised friend of the soldiers. There was not a single province in India where he had not served as viceroy. His old friends and servants came and collected round him and formed into a decent army. On his own authority he sent an appointment letter to Shujaat Khan Gujrati and appointed him his deputy. But Shujaat Khan in his struggle with Hamid Khan was slain in the battlefield. His brother Rustom Ali Khan with some Mahratta chiefs then attacked Hamid Khan but he too was killed. At last Mobarazul-Mulk Sar Baland Khan with Najmuddin Ali Khan started for Gujrat and after a pitched battle defeated Hamid Khan. Hamid Khan fled from Gujrat to Nizam-ul-Mulk. Sar Baland Khan entered Ahmadnagar and took up the work of administration. At the instigation of Nizam-ul-Mulk some chiefs joined Hamid Khan and marched towards Gujrat. The extending armies met within the boundaries of Gujrat. Hamid Khan and the Mahratta chiefs arrayed on one side and Sar Baland Khan and Najmuddin Ali Khan on the other. But the latter gained the victory and the former fled and did not take breath till they had gone beyond the precincts of Gujrat. As Sar Baland Khan had to keep a large army, the King had to remit to him rupees five lakhs per month for its upkeep. But when His Majesty heard the news of the victory he ordered the army to be disbanded and the remittance of money to be stopped. Raushanuddaulah Bahadur used to draw 12 lakh of rupees a year from the imperial treasury for expenses in Cabul, and as he used to send only half the amount to the Viceroy of Cabul and misappropriated the rest

to himself, the imperial accountants detected the defalcation and brought the matter to the notice of the King. His Majesty ordered that Raushanuddaulah be asked to render account. Two crores of rupees which he had misappropriated was asked for from him on behalf of the King. Finding no other alternative, Raushanuddaulah refunded two crores of rupees to the imperial treasury. He was removed from his post and Shamsuddulah was appointed in his place. Shah Abdul Gafur a wealthy man incurred the displeasure of the King by his misbehaviour and he was sent to Bengal as a prisoner. His house and properties were confiscated and their effects, amounting to two crores of rupees, were remitted to the imperial treasury. Through the intervention of Shamsuddulah Raja Abhay Singh Rathore was appointed viceroy of Gujrat. Sar Baland Khan was removed. Raja Abhay Singh went to Gujrat and Sar Baland Khan came back to Shahjahanabad where he began to lead a retired life. During the incumbency of Raja Abhay Singh Rathore as viceroy of Gujrat the Mahrattas began to create mischief; and after the death of Girdhar Bahadur and the murder of Daya Bahadur, Baji Rao Mahratta took possession of the province of Malwa. On the recommendation of Raja Jay Singh and Shamsaiddullah, Baji Rao Mahratta was formally appointed viceroy of Malwa by the King, who sent him a letter of appointment. Abhay Singh was removed from Gujrat and the province was made over to the Mahrattas. Mohammad Khan was dismissed from the viceroyalty of Allahabad as he was defeated in battle by the Bundelas. In the year 1135 Hijri Khanezad Khan, son of Sar Baland Khan was appointed viceroy of Allahabad, and Mohammad Khan viceroy of Shahjahanabad breathed his last. Haider Quli Khan was burnt to death in the room in which he was sleeping and Najmuddin Ali Khan died a natural death. Owing to the deaths of Haider Quli Khan and Najmuddin Ali Khan the posts of Mir Atashe and the viceroyalty of Ajmere were given to Mozaffar Khan, brother of Shamsaiddullah. Baji Rao Mahratta had established himself in the province of Malwa and Gujrat.

He became refractory and began to create mischief in various places especially in the neighbourhood of Gwalior and the province of Akbarabad. As he began to plunder and spread devastation all round, with the permission of the King, Amirul Umra Samsauddaulah, Etmaduddaulah Kamruddin Khan and other leading nobles with about forty thousand horse and cannons, etc., marched against him. After punishing Malhar Rao Mahratta, Burhanul Mulk, viceroy of Oudh, joined the army of Amirul Umra and Mohammad Bakhsh Khan did the same. On the 8th Zilhij 1149 Baji Rao Mahratta arrived at Talukabad and plundered the Hindus of Shahjahanabad who had assembled there for worship. In the night Baji Rao stopped near the tomb of Khwaja Qutubuddin and on the next morning pillaged the town of Palam and raised the standard of revolt in that neighbourhood. On hearing this some of the nobles of the court, such as Amir Khan and Raja Bakht Mal, etc., came out of the city with their own forces and attacked the enemy. But they could do nothing. By this time the imperial army and other lords of the neighbourhood arrived and Baji Rao Mahratta retreated. Etmaduddaulah Kamruddin Khan also arrived at this time, and after fighting with the Mahrattas went to Shahjahanabad. Burhanul Mulk, Samsamuddaulah, Mohammad Khan Bankash and other nobles who had already proceeded to meet the enemy also arrived. Baji Rao Mahratta was confounded and fled to Malwa and the leading nobles returned to the King. Nawab Samsamuddaulah through the mediation of Raja Jaye Singh proposed terms of peace to Baji Rao and the King himself sent conciliatory letters to Nizamul Mulk and asked him to come to his court. Nizamul Mulk started from the Deccan and proceeded towards Delhi. Samsamuddaulah heard of this. In order that Nizam-ul-Mulk may not intervene in the treaty with the Mahrattas, he hastily concluded a treaty of peace with Baji Rao on the promise of the payment of chauth and thus concluded the business. On the 16th of Rabiulawwal 1150 Nizam-ul-Mulk arrived at Shahjahanabad and appeared before the King. Raja Jaye Singh and Baji Rao Mahratta

were removed from the viceroyalty of Akbarabad and Malwa and Gaziuddin Khan son of Nizam-ul-Mulk was appointed to the post. Having taken leave of the King, Nizam-ul-Mulk started towards Akbarabad with all speed and arrived at Gwalior. Baji Rao also arrived in that locality with a large army. At this time Nizam-ul-Mulk heard the news that Nadir Shah King of Persia had arrived in close proximity to Delhi. He thought it better to make peace with the Mahrattas and went back to Shahjahanabad and conveyed the news to the King.

After having subjugated the Afghans in the year 1150 Hijree Nadir Shah directed his attention towards Kanahar, the fort of which was in the possession of Hosain the Afghan; Nadir Shah besieged the fort and lay encamped round it for seven months. In front of the fort he built a city called Nadirabad. At last he took the fort by assault and sent Hosain to prison. He murdered the Afghans indiscriminately; and as he thought that Gazni and Kabul were the strongholds of the Afghans, he marched towards Kabul. He took the fort, slaying the officers of the garrison. He remained at Kabul for seven months. From Kabul he proceeded towards Jalalabad and made a general massacre there. Nasir Khan the Viceroy of Kabul at last formally acknowledged Nadir's supremacy. Nadir now made his way towards Peshawar, and arriving at Peshawar plundered the place. After crossing the river Attock he arrived at Lahore. Zekaryia Khan, Viceroy of Lahore, after some fight was obliged to submit. From Lahore Nadir Shah started for Shahjahanabad. On hearing the news Mohammad Shah came out of Shahjahanabad with a large army; and the Amirul Umra Samsamuddaulah, Nizamul-Mulk, Etmaduddaulah, minister Kamruddin Khan and others arrived at Karnal. Letters were sent to Rajah Jaye Singh and his son and Raja Rathore, etc., but none of them arrived. Burhanul-Mulk was very anxiously awaited. Nadir Shah also made his appearance at Karnal. On the 15th of Zikad 1151 Hijree Burhanul-Mulk arrived. He was ordered to collect his army near Amirul Umra's. Burhanul-Mulk had arrived at the

appointed place and was waiting to find out his camp when all of a sudden he heard that his military camp was attacked by the soldiers of Nadir Shah. Burhanul-Mulk was confounded and sent word to Samsamuddaulah. Samsamuddaulah communicated the message of Burhanul-Mulk to Nizam-ul-Mulk. Nizam-ul-Mulk said in reply that it was close upon evening and the army of Burhanul-Mulk which had just arrived had not taken rest and that therefore it was not desirable to take the field at the time.

Burhanul-Mulk should remain stationary and made no haste. The artillery would be placed in the van and a general attack made the next day. Mohammad Shah sent this reply to Samsamuddaulah. Suspecting Nizam-ul-Mulk's negligence and inactivity Samsamuddaulah sent word to the King that he was going to the assistance of Burhanul-Mulk. Burhanul-Mulk, he said, must have advanced far, and came in contact with the enemy and it was highly improper that a trusted servant of His Majesty should fall into the hands of the enemy. Sending this message to the King, Samsamuddaulah mounted an elephant and marched towards the battlefield. The brothers, the sons, the relatives and the attendants of Samsamuddaulah also mounted their elephants and advanced towards the scene of action, with 12,000 cavalry in addition to the infantry and artillery. Samsamuddaulah arrived at Mohammad Amir Khan's camp with his force, which, after some halt, was arranged in battle array. Nadir Shah on the other hand divided his force into two columns, one column he left to guard his camp, and leading the other, divided it into three divisions. Of these three divisions one he commanded himself and the others he put under the command of his officers. The column of the Kazalbash then made a fierce attack, giving no time to Samsamuddaulah to make his arrangements. It at once took possession of the enemy's artillery and pounced upon the enemy. The Indian commander also dashed into the enemy's forces, the result of which was that the battle raged furiously; carnage and bloodshed were terrible. The Kazalbash made a fearful slaughter and Samsamuddaulah's brothers, sons and officers

were all slain. The Kazalbash gained the victory and the Indian army was routed. The commander of the Indian army received serious injuries. He fell unconscious in his howdah. But the elephant driver managed to drive away the elephant from the scene of action. It is said that in this fierce battle, the distinguished officers of the Samsamuddaulah's army such as Mozaffer Khan, brother of Samsamuddaulah, Mirza Ramzan the eldest son of Samsamuddaulah, Ali Hamid Khan, Shahzad Khan, Yadgar Khan, Mirza Akil Beg, etc., were slain. The Amirul Umra with some other men was brought to the King's camp, lying wounded and unconscious in his howdah. Etmaduddaulah, Nizam-ul-Mulk and the eunuchs of the royal harem stood round the Amirul Umra and with a heavy heart prayed for his recovery. Samsamuddaulah regained consciousness, opened his eyes, and said "I have brought on my own destruction. You ought to know now as to what is best for you. But this much I must say, that neither the King should go to see Nadir Shah nor should Nadir Shah be allowed to come to Shahjahanabad. At whatever cost it may be, the evil must be averted." Saying this, he expired. As his friends and lieutenants were all killed, Burhanul-Mulk, who alone was fighting in the battlefield, was captured by Kazalbash and taken to Nadir Shah. Nadir Shah treated him kindly. When evening fell, Nadir Shah returned from the battlefield and came to the place where his army lay encamped. When Burhanul-Mulk heard the news of the death of Samsamuddaulah he was glad at heart as he was desirous of succeeding to the post. Finding a suitable opportunity he made a reasonable proposal to Nadir Shah who agreed to make peace and return back if two crores of rupees were paid to him. Burhanul-Mulk wrote to Nizam-ul-Mulk and the King about the proposal which both the King and Nizam-ul-Mulk accepted. Next day Nizam-ul-Mulk through the help of Burhanul-Mulk approached Nadir Shah and ratified the proposal and returned to Mohammad Shah highly gratified at the success he had achieved. The King was very pleased to hear of this unexpected news, with the result

that Nizam-ul-Mulk was appointed Amirul Umra. On Sunday the 20th Mohammad Shah accompanied by Nizam-ul-Mulk paid a visit to Nadir Shah. As soon as Mohammad Shah arrived near the Persian troops Nadir Shah sent his son Mirza Nasrullah to receive him. Mirza Nasrullah paid the highest respect to Mohammad Shah and brought him to his father. Nadir Shah stepped forward to receive him. The usual formality of shaking hands was gone through. Nadir Shah gave him a seat by his side on the same carpet and treated him in right royal style. He then bid him a hearty farewell. Mohammad Shah returned to his military camp. Burhanul-Mulk was very much dissatisfied with the appointment of Nizam-ul-Mulk as Amirul Umra, as he himself coveted the post. Out of mere jealousy he made a regular plot against the King. He went to Nadir Shah and impressed upon him that considering the wealth of India two crores of rupees was too small an amount to satisfy a conqueror like him. He (Burhanul-Mulk) could personally make a present of that sum to His Majesty, and if His Majesty agreed to go to Shahjahanabad, which was eighty miles distant from the place, His Majesty would be able to collect much more wealth from the houses of the King, the Prime Minister, the Nizam-ul-Mulk and other nobility and gentry of the town. Nadir Shah was very glad to hear this. He sent for Nizam-ul-Mulk and said "Please ask Mohammad Shah to see me again." Nizam-ul-Mulk said in reply that it was against the ordinary canons of morality to break the contract which had been entered into. Nadir Shah said that he was not going to break it. He only wanted that Mohammad Shah might see him again. Nizam-ul-Mulk wrote a letter to the effect to the King. Mohammad Shah had to agree and he mounted a takhtrawan and accompanied by Amir Khan Motamaduddaulah, Mohammad Ishaq Khan and other associates proceeded to the camp of Nadir Shah. Nadir Shah accommodated Mohammad Shah in a tent which was specially pitched for him and asked him to send for all his attendants, officers, ladies of the harem and others whom he liked and remain with his army comfortably and

without fear of molestation. He told the soldiers of Mohammad Shah that they had full liberty to remain there or to go to their home at Shahjahanabad. Mohammad Shah had all his wants supplied, and Etmaduddaulah the Prime Minister was also comfortably accommodated. At last Nadir Shah accompanied by Mohammad Shah entered the fort of Shahjahanabad on Thursday the 8th Zilhij 1151. The courtiers and the old soldiers of Mohammad Shah went to their homes. On the day of Iduzoha prayers were said in the Juma Masjid in the name of Nadir Shah. On the 11th of the same month the people of Shahjahanabad spread a rumour that Nadir Shah was dead. In a moment the news travelled through the whole town, in spite of the fact that he was sitting in the fort in a large assembly with a portion of his army encamped round the fort and a portion on the bank of the river Jamna. As soon as the news was received by the city mob they took up arms and began to create trouble. They went to the extent of looting the properties of the Kazalbashes, nay even killed some. When the news reached Nadir Shah he sent order to his troops to come out of their camp and assemble at one place and put the Indians to the sword if they created any more mischief. The whole night was passed in a regular affray. In the morning Nadir Shah came out of the fort and took his seat in the mosque of Raushanuddaulah and ordered a general massacre. At midday when the number of people killed was enormous, Nadir Shah uttered "Halt, Peace" which had the instantaneous effect of putting a stop to the human slaughter. Nadir Shah retired to the fort and the remaining people of Shahjahanabad got a new lease of life. After a few days Burhanul Mulk died of carbuncle. Sher Jung who had come with two thousand horse to receive two crores of rupees took the money and made it over to Nadir Shah. Nadir Shah did the favour of sparing the jewels and ornaments found in the harem of the King and did not take a single farthing out of it. But the property, cash, gold mohurjewels and other things found outside, he divided into two equal shares. After inspection one

share he gave to Mohammad Shah and the other he took himself. The peacock throne which was adorned with jewels and the construction of which had cost an enormous sum of money he brought to his own use. He also took large sums of money from Nizamul Mulk, Kamruddin Khan and other leading nobles and millionaires of the town. But he did not take anything from the second son of Nawab Samsamuddaulah and spared all his property. Before the other nobles had sent in their tribute to Nadir Shah, Mirza Ashari, the second son of Samsamuddaulah made a list of all his cash and property amounting to more than a crore of rupees and sent it for inspection to Nadir Shah through the diwan of his father Raja Himmat Singh, who was the grandfather of the author (Maharaja Kalyan Singh) Mirza Zaki the Minister also accompanied Raja Himmat Singh. Nadir Shah called Raja Himmat Singh into his presence and treated him very kindly. He remarked that considering the bravery, energy and fidelity of Amirul Umara Khandauran and the reward for his services, and remembering the fact that Mohammad Shah had no other soldier of equal valour and self-sacrifice, he was very favourably impressed by him. Raja Himmat Singh availed himself of the golden opportunity thus presented, and approached Nadir Shah most respectfully saying that whatever his Majesty had said might be put in writing and the paper signed by His Majesty, and that some Kazalbash might be deputed to guard his house and property. So nicely did the Rajah put the matter that Nadir Shah complied with his request most willingly, remarking that the servant of the Amirul Umra was equally faithful to him. He then put his signature on the paper and made it over to Raja Himmat Singh. He also deputed 200 Kazalbash with Sardar Mirza Abdul Baki Beg as their head to guard the house of the late Samsamuddaula. Raja Himmat Singh made his obeisance to Nadir Shah and took leave of him. Nadir Shah then asked the Diwan to communicate his best wishes to the son of the great hero and tell him that he was ever ready to assist him. The Diwan left Nadir Shah's darbar and with Mirza Abdul

Baki Beg came back to his master Mirza Asuri and gave him the letter of royal pardon and related everything that had happened in detail. Mirza Abdul Baki Beg guarded the house of Khan Dauran Khan. Nadir Shah again spoke in very high terms of the valour, self-sacrifice and fidelity of the late Amirul Umra Samsamuddaulah to Mohammad Shah and recommended his son Mirza Asuri to him. At the time of returning to Persia, Nadir Shah called Mirza Asuri into his presence and bestowed a suit of costly dress on him and also made a present of his sword, a horse and an embroidered saddle to him. He also conferred upon him the post of Hasht Hazari and asked Mohammad Shah to give back to him the jagir of his father and six thousand horse and conferred upon him the title of Khan Bahadur. Nadir Shah got his son Nasrullah Mirza married to a royal princess and placed Mohammad Shah on the throne in the presence of all the chiefs and noblemen of India. On the 7th of Safar 1152 Nadir Shah came out of the fort. He soon completed his Indian journey and entered the boundary of Persia through the same way by which he had come to India.

After the departure of Nadir Shah to Persia Mohammad Shah appointed Umdatul Mulk Amir Khan as third Bakhshi and Mohammad Ishaq Khan Bahadur was appointed to the post of Diwan of the private properties with the title of Motma-uddaula. Azimullah Khan was appointed Karawal Begijo. Syed Salabat Khan was appointed Bakhshi in the ministerial department and Tarbiat Khan was appointed superintendent of artillery. Masum Ali Khan was appointed Post-Master-General and royal historian and Moizuddin Khan was given the service of Mir Atashi. From the beginning of his reign Mohammad Shah was averse to Turanee nobles and the late war with Nadir Shah still more embittered his feelings against them.

In the year 1157 Mohammad Shah with Umdatulmulk, Abul Mansoor Khan, Safdar and other nobles started from Shahjahanabad and reached Sambal Moradabad to punish Ali Mohammad Khan Robillah, who had raised the standard of revolt. Ali Mohammad Khan finding himself incapable of facing

the King, through the intervention of Minister Kamruddin Khan, presented himself before the King with tribute. Moham-mad Shah returned to Shahjahanabad victorious. On the 9th of Jamadiulakhir 1158 Hijree the report of the death of Zakaria Khan Viceroy of Lahore reached the King. Shah Newaz Khan, son of Zakaria Khan, was appointed Subadar of Lahore and Multan. Ahmad Shah, son of Mohammad Shah, was blessed with a son in the same year. In 1159 Hijree Umdatulmulk was killed by a man in the Imperial Diwan-i-Khas. In 1160 Hijree Nasir Mohammad Khan, Viceroy of Kabul, came to the King and was presented with suitable dress after which he returned to Kabul.

Ahmad Shah Durrane was a resident of Herat and the son of a nobleman. He was by nationality an Afghan. In the beginning of the reign of Nadir Shah he was taken prisoner by the King, and kept as one of the slaves in the royal palace. Gradually his position improved and he was fortunate enough to be considered as the principal associate of Nadir Shah. He came to India with Nadir Shah. When Nadir Shah returned from India and directed his course towards the borders of Persia, Ahmad Shah was with him. Nadir Shah was at last killed by the people of his own army. (A detailed history of the reign of Nadir Shah is given in Nadirnamah and need not be repeated here. I begin the history of Ahmad Shah Durrane.) After the assassination of Nadir Shah, Ahmad Shah Durrane with his army and the men of his own class fled towards Kandahar. On his way he put on the royal crown. As luck would have it Nasir Khan, Viceroy of Kabul, and Mir Mohammad Sayeed were coming to Nadir Shah with a large amount of revenue of Kabul and of the territories in charge of Zakaria Khan. Ahmad Shah Durrane attacked them in the way, and having defeated them, took possession of the treasure. By kind treatment he won over Nasir Khan and Mir Mohammad Sayeed to his side and brought them with him to Kandahar. Having reached a place near Kandahar he had a tough fight with the governor of the place who was appointed by Nadir

Shah. The Governor was killed and his army surrendered and the whole of Kandahar came into the possession of Ahmad Shah. On his behalf he re-appointed Nasir Khan Viceroy of Kabul and ordered him to remit five lakhs of rupees on his arrival at Kabul and to depute five Durranee horsemen to carry out the order. Nasir Khan soon arrived at Kabul and conveyed the order to the Afghans of Kabul. They refused to obey. Nasir Khan said, "If you don't pay the money, what means would you adopt to protect yourselves against the persecutions of Ahmad Shah Durranee." The Afghans said that they were ready to fight and took a solemn vow in this respect. Nasir Khan expelled the five Durranees. On hearing this news, Ahmad Shah Durranee came straight to Kabul. The Afghans of that place broke their promise and stood aloof. Nasir Khan fled from Kabul and came to Peshawar. He fully guarded some of the passes and himself took refuge in a strong fort. The Afghans of Kabul joined Ahmad Shah Durranee who now proceeded towards Peshawar. Nasir Khan with his little army began to make preparations for the defence. But before the arrival of Ahmad Shah he left the fort and fled to Lahore. He arrived safe at Lahore and took his quarters in a mosque. On hearing the news of the arrival of Nasir Khan, Shah Newaz Khan, Viceroy of Lahore, went to see him and supplied him with tents, furniture, horses, elephants and four lakhs of rupees in cash. From Lahore Nasir Khan went to Delhi. After plundering Peshawar Ahmad Shah Durranee proceeded towards Lahore. Shah Newaz Khan first intended to fight with Ahmad Shah; but subsequently fled to Shahjahanabad. After plundering Lahore to his heart's content Ahmad Shah marched to Shahjahanabad. Mohammad Shah appointed his son Ahmad Mirza to the command of the Imperial army. The court nobles and the Vizier Itimaduddaulah Qamruddin Khan and Abdul Mansoor Khan Safdar Jang Mir Atash were put in command of their respective forces; Rajah Isri Singh, son of Jaya Singh, and other Rathore Rajas were also given different posts in the army. This combined force left Delhi on the

18th Moharrum 1161 Hijree. Thus it was that prince Ahmad Mirza with all the nobles, the sardars and the rajas and with 6,000 horse and a strong artillery started from Shah-jahanabad, and after a long march halted at the bank of the Sutlej. He erected ramparts round his encampment with a ditch round it and, having fortified it, waited for Ahmad Shah Durrane. Ahmad Shah appeared with his army, and artillery fight went on from the 15th to the 28th Rabiulawwal resulting in much loss of life. Vizier Itmaduddaulah Qamruddin Khan was killed on the 20th Rabiulawwal, having been struck with a cannon ball in his camp. This event caused such a panic among Isri Singh, son of Rajah Jaya Singh, and the other Rathore Rajas, that with a body of 30,000 cavalry and infantry they all fled precipitately to their country. But in spite of this mishap Moinul Mulk, son of Qamruddin Khan, and Abdul Mansoor Khan Safdar Jang showed remarkable courage, and tried hard to revive the spirit of the imperial army. On the 28th Rabiulawwal Ahmad Shah Durrane assaulted the Vizier's army with a strong column. Moinul Mulk fought with great bravery. Most of the Turrane Sardars were killed. The prince's force was about to be much harassed by Ahmad Shah Durrane's army, when Abdul Mansoor Khan Bahadur Safdar Jang despatched a reinforcement to the prince, placed himself with his detachment of the Moghuls and artillery between Moinul Mulk and Ahmad Shah. Ahmad Shah Durrane's force was much harassed by those of the Vizier and the prince, and now that Safdar Jang fell upon him with a strong detachment and artillery and slew most of his companions, great confusion was caused in his army. He was at last repulsed and took to flight. Prince Ahmad Mirza was victorious. Mohammad Shah was suffering from a fatal disease. But the news of the success gave him a temporary relief. He sent Moinul Mulk the Vizier's son a khilat and a sanad, appointing him the Viceroy of Lahore, and issued orders to the prince and Abul Mansoor Khan Safdar Jang to present themselves before him. The prince conferred upon Moinul Mulk the royal

sanad and the title of distinction. Moinul Mulk having finished the funeral ceremonies of his father, sent the bier to Shahjahanabad and with his regiment marched to Lahore. Having heard the alarming news of the serious illness of the Emperor the prince, Ahmad Mirza and Abul Mansoor Khan Safdar Jang with the chiefs and the victorious army, proceeded with all speed towards Shahjahanabad. On the 27th Rabiussani 1161 Hijree in the thirty-first year of his reign, Mohammad Shah breathed his last. This heart-stirring news reached prince Ahmad Mirza and Abul Mansoor Khan Safdar Jang at Paniput.

Mohammad Shah was a good King, shrewd, and far-sighted. His court nobles were also accomplished and qualified. In the beginning of his reign he was entirely in the hands of his minister Amir ul Umra Hosain Ali Khan and Qutbulmulk. But he took the Turanee nobles into his confidence and with their support as well as by his sheer force of individuality, his high literary qualification and his persuasive eloquence he put down the disloyal Syeds. After gaining full influence and power he tried to extricate himself from the influence of the Turanee nobles like Nizam-ul-Mulk, Qamruddin Khan and others. After the overthrow of the Turanee nobles he reigned with complete independence, and by wise and good administration maintained the prestige of his empire. Then he broke the influence of Khwajah Asim, Samsamuddaulah Khandauran, and passed the rest of his life in the full enjoyment of power and dignity. Both before and after the appearance of Nadir Shah he protected himself from the machinations of the wily and the unscrupulous and the intrigues of the Mahrattas and the Rohillas and reigned with perfect peace and freedom for a period of 31 years. He earned the heartfelt gratitude of his people by his peaceful rule. He was the last de facto King of the Babar dynasty. He was just, merciful, magnanimous, and his high character, both public and private, won him the esteem and admiration of his people.

Ahmad Shah.

Abul Mansoor Khan Safdar Jang, a distinguished nobleman, was fortunately present and he at once put the crown on the head

of Prince Ahmad Mirza and announced his installation as King. After that Abul Mansoor left in hot haste and proceeded to the garden of Salamar near Delhi and pitched his tent there. At the same place on the 5th of Jamadiulawwal of the same year with the consent of all the high functionaries of the state Ahmad Shah was proclaimed King and ascended his hereditary throne. All the states officials and court nobles made presents to His Majesty and offered him their most hearty and loyal congratulations. The last remains of Mohammad Shah after the performance of the preliminary funeral ceremonies, were taken with royal pomp and grandeur to a place near the tomb of Nizamuddin Shah and buried.

On the 7th of Jamadiulawwal, Ahmad Shah mounted a takhtawan and proceeded from the garden of Salamar accompanied by the high functionaries of the state and the grantees of the court, with all royal pomp and grandeur, and entered the fort of Shahjahanabad amidst the hearty congratulations of the people. On the Friday following he again mounted the takhtawan and in the same royal style went to the Juma Masjid, where prayers were offered in his name. He presented the theologians with suitable robes of honour, wended his way back to the fort, distributing alms to the poor along the route. During this time both Murtaza Khan and Mureed Khan died, and news reached Ahmad Shah from the Deccan that Nizamul-Mulk had breathed his last at Burhampore. On the 4th Jamadiulakhir of the same year the King appointed Abul Mansoor Khan Safdar Jang his prime minister and conferred upon him a precious robe of honour and the title of Madar-ul-Maham Wazirul Mumalik Burhanul Mulk Sipahsalar. On Saadat Khan Zulfikar Jang was conferred the title of Amirul Umra, who was also given the post of first Bakhshi. Ahmad Ali Khan was given the Subadarship of Akbarabad, and the posts of Bakhshi and Arz Mukarrar. Najmuddaulah was made the Diwan of Khalsa Sharifa (government estates). The eunuch Jawad Khan got the title of Nawab Bahadur and the post of Nazarat. Intizamuddaulah son of Qamaruddin Khan was appointed the

Subedar of Muradabad and the Wazirul Mumalik Safdar Jang the Subedar of Ajmere.

Ahmad Shah Durranee invaded Lahore a second time. Moinul Mulk opposed him. But peace was concluded and on taking some money, he returned to Kandahar. On the 5th Zilhij of the same year, Wazirul Mumalik Safdar Jang in company with Ahmad Shah proceeded from Shahjahanabad to Koel. Wazirul Mumalik left the King at Koel, and with his own army went to Kauriaganj, situated at a short distance from Farrukhabad. The wife of Mohammad Khan Bangash had no other alternative than to submit. She made her appearance before Wazirul Mumalik and conciliated him by paying him 70 lakhs of rupees. After settling this affair Wazirul Mumalik realised some money from Sadullah Khan in the shape of present. Ahmad Shah then left Koel on the 18th of Safar 1163 Hijree and returned to Shahjahanabad.

Some time after this Wazirul Mumalik Safdar Jang gave twelve villages free of Government demands to the mother of Kaem Khan Bangash. He took all the districts that were in the possession of the Bangash and in his place appointed Rajah Nawab Rae, who had all along acted as his deputy. Wazirul Mumalik then left for Shahjahanabad, and appeared before the King. Rajah Nawab Rae now took up the administration of the province that was put in his charge, and made Kanauj his capital. He was high handed in his proceedings, and oppressed the Afghans and confined the relations of Kaem Khan and their followers in the fort of Allahabad. The Afghans therefore conspired against him and attempted to assassinate him. Ahmad Khan severed his connection from Wazirul Mumalik and joined the Afghans, who all combined to rise against Raja Nawab Rae.

The intelligence of this rising having been conveyed to Rajah Nawab Rae, he came out of Kanauj with his army and awaited the arrival of reinforcement from the wazier, whom he had asked for assistance. Wazirul Mumalik received this intelligence on Friday the 12th Shaban of 1163 Hijree, took leave of the King and pitched his camp outside of Sathar, and sent

his cousin-in-law Nasiruddin Haidar Khan to the help of Rajah Nawab Rae. But before reinforcements could reach Nawab Rae, the Afghans in a body attacked him, got into his camp and slew him. After hearing this sad news Wazirul Mumalik again informed the King and took leave of him for the second time. The imperial forces were also sent to the assistance of the Wazier. Najumuddaulah Ishaq Khan Bahadur and some other court nobles also accompanied the Wazier. Wazier Mumalik Safdar Jang thus proceeded to the scene of action with more than 70,000 cavalry and a very large number of infantry. Ahmad Khan Bangash opposed this huge army with a strong body of the Afghans. A pitched battle was fought and Wazirul Mumalik Safdar Jang was completely defeated. Mirza Nasiruddin Haider cousin-in-law of the Wazier, Nawab Najumuddaulah Ishaq Khan Bahadur and other officers and nobles were killed. Wazirul Mumalik fled to Shahjahanabad and pitched his camp at the bank of the Jamna. The King sent kind and sympathetic words to him and gave him every encouragement. Ere long the Wazier made another preparation for an attack on Ahmad Khan Bangash. He engaged the services of the Holkar and other Mahratta chiefs, and with a strong detachment of 20,000 horse marched against the Bangash. Hostilities commenced and the battle raged furiously and many Afghans were slain. The Mahrattas made a great slaughter and laid waste the country of the enemy. Ahmad Khan Bangash and Sadullah Khan Rohillah who had come to his aid were completely routed and fled to the hills of Kumaon. The Mahrattas as well as the Wazier's detachments chased them and invested the mountains. Many Afghans could not stand the climate of that mountainous region and died from the effects of it. Ahmad Khan Bangash and Sadullah Rohillah were hard pressed and compelled to surrender. They suppliantly made overtures for peace through the intercession of the Mahrattas. On taking 16 lakhs of rupees Wazirul Mumalik left Farukhabad.

The Wazier settled the estates of Ali Mohammad Khan Rohillah with Sadullah Khan on Ijarah. Some of the estates of Kaem Khan were given to the Mahrattas and some taken by Wazier himself. The Wazier then proceeded to Oudh, and after settling matters there, went to Allahabad and Benares. When affairs at Allahabad and Benares were satisfactorily managed, he returned to Oudh and took up the administration of the province. This was the year when the province of Allahabad was given to him and the provinces of Ajmere and Akbarabad to Amirul Umra Zulfikar Jang. Through his bad policy, Amirul Umra Zulfikar Jang was worsted by Surajmal Jat, a big zemindar of the Akbarabad district, and was obliged to make peace with him, till at last he repaired to Ajmere. Even at Ajmere he could not cope with the Rajputs, had to conclude peace with them, and came to Shahjahanabad. At Shahjahanabad he was reprimanded by the King and removed from the post of Amirul Umra, which was given to Gaziuddin Khan Feeroz Jang, the eldest son of Nizamul Mulk Asif Jah. Nasir Jang Nizamuddaulah Bahadur, the second son of Nizamul Mulk, who acted in the Deccan as a deputy in the lifetime of his father, after the death of his father, became the virtual master of it and was such a terror in the land that not a single Mahratta could rise against him. By the command of His Majesty he had to proceed up to the Narbada in the year 1162 Hijree, but returned to the Deccan in consequence of the disturbance created by Mozafferjang.

Mozafferjang was Nizamul Mulk's daughter's son and held the post of Subadar of Bijapur. He attempted to take Arcot in alliance with Hosain Dost Khan; nay actually took it with the aid of the French troops of Pondicherry. Hearing this Nasir Jang advanced with 70,000 cavalry, 100,000 infantry and a formidable artillery and met Mozafferjang in the field. After severe fighting Mozafferjang was defeated and brought before Nasir Jang who passed the rainy season in Arcot. Himmat Khan and others, who were the servants of Nasir Jang, in collusion with the French of Pondicherry, made a night

attack on their master, in which Nasir Jang was shot dead. Mozafferjang, then a prisoner, was released by the rebels and proclaimed the ruler of the Deccan. In consultation with the Afghans and the French, Mozafferjang proceeded towards Hyderabad. Two months after this, relations between Mozafferjang, Himmat Khan and the Afghans were strained, so much so, that they opposed one another. The French aided Mozafferjang, and Himmat Khan was supported by the Afghans. In a pitched battle that was fought between the two belligerents both Muzafferjang and Himmat Khan were slain. Raja Raghunath Das who was an attendant of great rank of Mozafferjang enlisted the sympathies of the French and acknowledged Saiyid Mohammad Khan Salabat Jang, the third son of Nizamul Mulk, as the ruler of the Deccan. He as well as the French, accepted service under Saiyid Mohammad Khan and proceeded to Aurangabad.

It was at this time that Balaji advanced from Poona to Aurangabad, but the local governor Ruknuddaula saved himself on payment of Rs. 1,50,000 to him. Saiyid Mohammad Khan passed the rainy season in Aurangabad, and on the 14th Zilhij 1164 Hijree marched to Poona with a view to chastise Balaji. Balaji opposed him with 50,000 cavalry. The Mahrattas were much harrassed by the artillery of the French. They were attacked under cover of night and Balaji fled. Peace was, however, concluded.

After the conclusion of peace, Salabat Jang proceeded to Hyderabad and sent for Ruknuddaulah and Samsamuddaulah. Both of them went to Hyderabad, and Ruknuddaulah was vested with full powers. But news reached the King that Nasir Jang was slain. Just on hearing this His Majesty appointed Gaziuddin Khan Feerozjang, the elder brother of Nasir Jang, Subadar of the Deccan. Feerozjang left for Hyderabad but it so happened that on reaching Aurangabad he died and Saiyid Mohammad Khan Bahadur Salabat Jang continued the Viceroy of the Deccan as before.

In 1165 Hijree, Ahmad Shah Abdalee marched from Kandahar to Lahore. Moinul Mulk the local governor opposed him, but in the end concluded peace. Ahmad Shah Abdalee appointed him the governor of the province of Lahore on his behalf and left the place.

On hearing this Ahmad Shah sent a firman to Wazirul Mumalik Safdarjang and asked him to present himself before His Majesty. In obedience to the royal summons, Wazirul Mumalik came to Delhi in the month of Rajab of the same year and had an audience of the King. Somehow or other the Wazier was displeased with the eunuch Nawab Bahadur Jawad Khan who had already become a disturbing element in the empire and wished to get rid of him. He invited Jawad Khan to his house and assassinated him. The King was annoyed at this and feared for the safety of his own life. He entered into a league with Intizamuddaulah, son of Karmuddin Khan, and conspired to get rid of Wazirul Mumalik. After the death of Gaziuddin Khan Feerozjang, Meer Shahabuddin Khan got into friendly relations with Wazirul Mumalik. Wazirul Mumalik took great interest in him and had at last the title of Imadul Mulk Gaziuddin Khan Bahadur Feerozjang conferred upon him and the post of Amirul Umra given him by the King. But the man proved ungrateful to his benefactor. He entered into a conspiracy with the mother of the King and Intizamuddaulah and plotted against Safdarjang. The outcome of all these intrigues was that relations between the King and the Wazier became more and more strained. Hot words passed between them and the Wazier discontinued his attendance in court.

On a certain night the King wrote a letter in his own handwriting and summoned the commanding officer of the Wazier's artillery who was living in the royal fort and was in charge of it. His Majesty then handed over the letter to him and gave him certain messages to be conveyed to the Wazier. After a good deal of discussion he had to leave the fort and go to the Wazier. As soon as he got out, the King ordered the Nazir to turn out all the men of the Wazier from the fort, shut its gate,

and refuse admission to all those who were in any way connected with the Wazier. By His Majesty's order the Nazir turned out all the men of the Wazier's artillery and shut all the gates of the fort. The soldiers of the imperial forces were then posted on the bastions and ramparts in which the next morning guns were put in position and persistent fire opened on Dilkosha the palace of the Wazier. The Wazirul Mumalik left the place and repaired to another palace of his, which was at some distance from the fort. For some days he hesitated to fight with the King and at last made up his mind to proceed to his province. He left Shahjahanabad without the permission of the King, and pitched his tent at a place at some distance from the imperial city. Although he had made up his mind to go to his province without making any armed opposition to the King, some mischievous men prevailed upon him and made him change his resolution. He took some man of doubtful parentage and set him up as King, and opposed the reigning sovereign in the name of the pretender. He then sent his family to the fort of Surajmal Jat, and asked the Jat to come to his assistance, who hurried to the scene of action with his armed body of retainers and joined the Wazier's forces. Amirul Umra Imdadul Mulk Ghaziuddin Khan and Intizamuddaulah and the other nobles and functionaries of the state sided with the King, and Surajmal Jat laid waste old Delhi, and at Shahjahanabad Amirul Umra Ghaziuddin Khan looted the houses of Ishaq Yar Khan, Ismail Beg Khan and other relatives and dependents of Safdarjang, which all were valued at crores of rupees. The disturbance lasted six months. At last Safdarjang made overtures for peace, on condition that he be allowed to remain in undisturbed possession of the provinces of Oudh and Allahabad as before. The King, Intizamuddaulah and Ghaziuddin Khan all accepted the terms. Peace was concluded, and in the month of Mohurram 1167 in the sixth year of the accession of Ahmad Shah the Wazier left the place for his province with his family, relatives and forces, and Delhi was free from turmoil and disturbance.

The opposition of Ghaziuddin Khan Feeroz Jang to Ahmad Shah and the blinding of the eyes of that Innocent King with a needle.

Ghaziuddin Khan Feeroz Jang was by nature perfidious and intriguing. He saw that the most opportune time for establishing his power and influence would be when Safdar Jang was removed from the scene. He therefore plotted against the King and sought opportunities to depose him. He had applied to Mulhar Rao Holkar and other Mahratta chiefs to assist the King in his war against the Wazier; and these Mahratta chiefs arrived after the hostilities had ceased. Ghaziuddin Khan therefore seized this opportunity of making an alliance with them, and with their assistance invested the fort of Suraj Mal Jat, against whom he bore a grudge for his having espoused the cause of the Wazier. Suraj Mal Jat was strong enough to cope with the Mahratta chiefs and Ghaziuddin Khan combined and he maintained his ground with great courage and resolution. He was in possession of the forts of Deek, Kunbhera and Bharatpur, which all were well fortified. He kept strong garrisons in them and put guns in position on their bastions and ramparts. As the capture of these strong forts was impossible without the use of big guns Ghaziuddin Khan asked the King to send him the imperial guns for his use. This prayer the King did not grant at the instance of Intizamuddaulah which gave great offence to Ghaziuddin Khan. Suraj Mal Jat sent representations to the King as well as to the Wazier telling them that the combined influence of the Mahrattas and Ghaziuddin Khan, if they got into power, would greatly affect the stability of the empire. It was therefore desirable that His Majesty should proceed to Secunderabad and pitch his camp there, under the pretence of a pleasure trip, or a hunting excursion, or the settlement of Mahabat Khalsa, and if His Majesty so desired ask Safdar Jang also to go with the royal party. This movement was highly calculated to quell the disturbance caused by the Mahrattas and Ghaziuddin Khan. The King

accepted the proposal and His Majesty together with his ministers and the principal nobles of the state with the troops stationed at Shahjahanabad proceeded to Secunderabad where the royal camp was pitched. At the instigation of Ghaziuddin Khan the Mahrattas attacked the royal army at night. The King, the ministers and the nobles mounted their elephants and at midnight left Shahjahanabad in hot haste and got into the royal fort. The Mahrattas plundered the royal camp and looted the properties of the King, the ministers and the nobles. Ghaziuddin Khan followed the royal party and entered Shahjahanabad, the Mahrattas retreating to their own country. Thus it was that Suraj Mal Jat escaped the attack. The first thing that Ghaziuddin Khan did was to capture and depose Intizamud-daulah. For himself he secured the post of Prime Minister and had the posts of Mir Atashi and Amirul Umra conferred on the son of Khan Dauran and the post of Samsamuddaulah on Khan Bahadur Mansoor Jang. Samsamuddaulah appointed Rai Shitab Rai, the father of the author, to the post of Naib Mir Atashi. Raja Nagar Mal was appointed governor of Khalsa Sharifa (personal estates of the King) and Abdul Majid Khan Cashmiri a bodyguard.

On the 10th of Shaban 1167 Ghaziuddin Khan and Samsamuddaulah having made arrangements for the discharge of their duties in the royal fort, started to pay their respects to Ahmad Shah. On their return they began to speak ill of His Majesty and enumerate his failings. On hearing this Ahmad Shah jumped from his throne and fled into the harem. Ghaziuddin Khan asked Mohammad Khan to follow him. That miscreant, having no regard for his past allegiance to the Babar dynasty, entered the royal harem. He caught hold of Ahmad Shah and took off his turban. With one hand he held the hair of the King's head and with the other that of his mother. He then dragged them out of the royal harem to the hall of public audience, kicking them mercifully in the way. The nobles and the royal domestics stood gazing and felt no pity at the brutal sight, till at last the innocent King and his

mother were confined in the house reserved for the imprisonment of monarchs. Not content with this humiliation of the King the scoundrel Ghaziuddin Khan had His Majesty and his mother blinded with a poisonous needle passed through their eyes.

Alamgir II.

After blinding Ahmad Shah and sending him to prison Imadul Mulk Ghaziuddin Khan installed Azizuddin, son of Moizuddin Jahandar Shah, who was an old man, on the throne and designated him Alamgir II.

Safdar Jang proceeded to his province and took up its administration. But he suddenly fell ill and died on the 17th Zilhij 1167. His son Shujauddaulah Bahadur was appointed in his place, and Ismail Beg Khan, a trusted Sardar of his father, was appointed his deputy. This man also died soon after, and Tamkin Khan, the Lord Chamberlain of Safdar Jang, became Deputy Governor of the province. Nawab Shujauddaulah who was the very incarnation of bravery and courage, busied himself in chastising the refractory people of his province, and by dint of care and able management brought prosperity to his people and his country. After the death of Moinul Mulk the Governorship of Lahore was given to his son, Mir Munim, and the mother of Mir Munim took upon herself the administration of the province. During her reign the Sikhs increased in number and power. Imadul Mulk Ghaziuddin Khan after the completion of his business thought of proceeding towards Lahore. He came out of Shahjahanabad with a large army, and on his arrival at Paniput, pitched his camp. He was ill-treated and dishonoured by a band of his own subordinates, who were called "Sindagh" and who were kept under strict surveillance in the time of Safdar Jang. They dragged Ghaziuddin Khan up to their camp. But on his most abject supplications, they sent him back to his camp. By the order of Ghaziuddin Khan and Najibuddaulah the band of miscreants the "Sindagh" was put to the sword. Imadul Mulk himself returned to Shahjahanabad. He spent some time in the collection of arms and the recruitment

of soldiers, and having completed his arrangements, took Prince Ali Gauhar, son of Alamgir II, with him and proceeded towards Lahore. In the way he halted at Lodhiana. From there he wrote a letter to his aunt, asking her to send his wife to him. The lady thereupon sent him her daughter with suitable dowry. Ghaziuddin Khan then sent an army to Lahore. This army on its arrival at Lahore arrested the wife of Moinul Mulk (the aunt and mother-in-law of Ghaziuddin Khan) and brought her to Ghaziuddin Khan. Ghaziuddin Khan succeeded in gaining her to his side by coaxing, cajolery and loquacity, and started with her to Shahjahanabad. He appointed Adina Beg Governor of Lahore on his payment of 30 lakhs of rupees.

When Ahmad Shah Duranee received the news of the wickedness of Ghaziuddin Khan and of the forcible carrying off of the wife of Moinul Mulk, he got much enraged and prepared to march to Delhi. Adina Beg fled to the forest as soon as Ahmad Shah Duranee arrived at Lahore. Ahmad Shah took possession of Lahore, as he had done before, and proceeded towards Delhi. Ghaziuddin Khan got frightened at this and taking his mother-in-law with him left Delhi. He met Ahmad Shah on his way, who first reprimanded him, and then subsequently on account of the intercession of his mother-in-law, treated him kindly and sympathetically. Ahmad Shah sent the wife of Moinul Mulk to Lahore, and on the 7th Jamadi-ul-Awwal 1170 Hijree made his entrance into the fort of Shahjahanabad. He pillaged and plundered Shahjahanabad to his hearts content, and marrying the daughter of the brother of Alamgir II to his son Timmour Shah, left the city, and advanced to the country of Suraj Mal Jat. He caused an indiscriminate slaughter in Muttra. But as Suraj Mal Jat possessed well-fortified and well-garrisoned forts, he was saved from his attack. With a view to exact money from Shujauddaulah, Ghaziuddin Khan marched against him with a detachment of Ahmad Shah's forces. Shujauddaulah met his combined force on his frontier and defeated Ghaziuddin Khan. After his repulse Ghaziuddin Khan made friends with Sadullah Khan Rohilla, who had been on intimate terms with

Shujauddaulah and through his intervention made Shujauddaulah agree to pay him 3 lakhs of rupees, which he remitted through a military officer of Ahmad Shah to the military camp of Ahmad Shah. He himself repaired to Farrukhabad, where he awaited the instructions of Ahmad Shah. It so happened that plague broke out in an epidemic form in the military camp of Ahmad Shah, causing great mortality. Ahmad Shah was thus forced to proceed towards Kandahar, and at the time of his departure he conferred the office of Amirul Umra on Najibuddaulah, and recommended him to Alamgir II.

Hearing of the departure of Ahmad Shah Durrane to Kandahar Imadul Mulk took Ahmad Khan Bangash and Raghu-nath Rao Mahratta with him and with their combined forces proceeded from Farrukhabad towards Shahjahanabad. Najibuddaulah and the other grandees and state functionaries made every preparation for opposing Imadul Mulk. Imadul Mulk invested Shahjahanabad for forty or fifty days, and cannonading commenced from both sides. At last Najibuddaulah was worsted in the combat and compelled to leave the city and proceed towards Saharanpur. With Ahmad Khan Bangash, Imadul Mulk entered Shahjahanabad and took up the administration of the state. It was at this time that Rai Shitab Rai proceeded to Azimabad, having been appointed by the command of the King and the Wazier to the post of Diwan to the Government esates (Khalsa Sharifa) in the province of Bihar, the author having been left with Imadul Mulk. On his arrival at Azimabad Rai Shitab Rai took up the management of the Government estates which he did with very great credit.

Before the arrival of Imadul Mulk at Shahjahanabad, Prince Ali Gauhar had left the place with a large body of retainers to take up the administration of the jagirs which were given him by the King and which lay in the district of Jhajjar. On his arrival at Shahjahanabad Imadul Mulk sent an army to fetch Ali Gauhar, who was compelled to return to Shahjahanabad. He entered the royal fort and lived in the house of Ali Mardan Khan. After fifteen days, Imadul Mulk besieged the

house occupied by the Prince, with a view to arrest him. The Prince showed great courage and bravery and came out of the house; and after successfully fighting with the enemy escaped and joined the army of Mithal Rao Mahratta, which lay encamped near Takia majnoon. Mithal Rao received him with open arms and treated him hospitably. After five or six days for fear of the displeasure of Imadul Mulk, he sent Prince Ali Gauhar to Farrukhnagar, a place forty miles distant from Shahjahanabad with one of his Sardars and a small force provided with money and supplies. The landlord of the place, Musa Khan, presented the Prince with 3 lakhs of rupees. The Prince passed through Kunjpura and went to Najibuddaulah in the district of Saharanpur. Najibuddaulah received the Prince very kindly. He allowed him to remain with him for eight months, after which he sent him towards Bengal. After wandering about the prince at last reached the country of the Rohillas. Saadullah Khan also gave him a royal reception. From there the Prince went to the province of Shujauddaulah. On the 9th of Jamadiul Awwal 1171, Nawab Shujauddaulah came up 14 miles to receive him. He made the prince a present of 101 gold mohurs, a lakh of rupees, two elephants, palanquins, some horse, tents, arms, and then allowed him to depart. Prince Ali Gauhar left the place and went to Allahabad. Mohammad Quli Khan came to receive him and made suitable presents to him. He himself accompanied the Prince to Bihar, where the Prince succeeded in taking up its administration.

In the first part of the month of Rabiussani 1172, Hijree Imadul Mulk executed Alamgir II in the fortress of Feerozshah. The unfortunate king reigned six years and some months. A few months after the execution of Alamgir II, Imadul Mulk heard of the arrival of Ahmad Shah Durranees and felt his life in danger. He came out of Shahjahanabad and started to meet Suraj Mal Jat, who gave him shelter. In 1172 Hijree Ahmad Shah Durranees came to Lahore from Kandahar and expelled the Mahrattas who were then in possession of it. From there he proceeded to Sarai Ali Verdi Khan, which was in the suburbs

of Shahjahanabad. He advanced further and did not stop till he arrived at Narvawal. As the rainy season was about to commence, he pitched his camp at Sikandra a place 40 miles distant from Shahjahanabad. On the invitation of Ahmad Shah Durranee, Shujauddaulah proceeded from his province with 10,000 cavalry and joined the camp of Ahmad Shah, who received him most cordially. Najibuddaulah, Sadullah Khan and other Rohilla Sardars as well as Ahmad Khan Bangash also joined Ahmad Shah, who treated them all with great hospitality. It was at this time that Sadasiv Rao alias Bhao and other chiefs and veteran soldiers under the generalship of Ibrahim Khan, and commanded by Biswas Rao, son of Balaji Rao, advanced from the Deccan to Shahjahanabad with a strong infantry, 80,000 cavalry, and an artillery trained in the European method, with the object of opposing Ahmad Shah Durranee and overthrowing the rule of the Timour dynasty and placing Biswas Rao on the throne of Delhi. When they reached Akbarabad Imadul Mulk and Suraj Mal Jat paid a visit to Bhao and started for Shahjahanabad and took the town and fort of Shahjahanabad from Yakoo Ali Khan, who was stationed there by Ahmad Shah Durranee with a small force. Imadul Mulk restored peace and order there and completely brought the fort into his possession. Bhao entrusted the command of the fort of Shahjahanabad to a Brahman named Adi Shankar, and left a small force there for its protection. Suraj Mal Jat took Imadul Mulk with him and retreated to his fort. Bhao proceeded with his officer and forces to Kunjpura and took it. When Ahmad Shah Durranee came to know of all this, he was infuriated, and with his forces and those of Shujauddaulah Bahadur with him, he passed through Bagpul, crossed the Jamuna and arrived at Paniput in company with Ahmad Khan Bangash. The Mahrattas, quite contrary to their usual practice, erected on the other side of Paniput a rampart of cannons round their army which may be called "Saddi Atashin." They also dug a deep trench round the artillery and built another fort with the earth thus excavated. After the arrival of the

Mahrattas, the army of Ahmad Shah Durrane, and his other comrades, came up to Shankar to meet them. Fight with cannons, muskets, arrows and swords commenced. The army of Ahmad Shah Durrane besieged Shankar and stopped all supplies. When Ahmad Shah Durrane saw that in spite of the stoppage of supplies the Mahrattas showed no signs of coming out of their rampart mounted with cannons, on the 28th of Rabiul-awwal of the same year he mounted a horse and with all his army attacked the Shankar of the Mahrattas. But the fight continued. When Ahmad Shah Durrane came to know that Gobind Pandit, Zilladar of Etawah, with an army of 10,000 men and supplies and treasure was about to arrive and help Bhao, he sent an officer with a force of 5,000 Kazalbash to meet him. This officer marched against Gobind Pandit whose forces were cut to pieces. His supplies and treasure were taken possession of and sent to the camp of Ahmad Shah Durrane. When the siege continued for a long time the Mahrattas felt the pang of the stoppage of supplies. Being thus harassed, on the 6th of Jamadiulakhir they put the English artillery under the command of Ibrahim Khan in front and came out of the Shankar. Ahmad Shah accompanied by Shujaudaulah, Ahmad Khan Bangash and the other Rohilla officers also started to meet the enemy. A hard fight took place in which all the Mahrattas were killed at the hands of the Durrane, Rohilla and Afghan soldiers. As far as the eye could see a heap of corpses was visible, and with the blood of the slain the land looked like a ruby mine of Badakshan. The flag of victory was hoisted by Ahmad Shah Durrane. Twenty-two thousand Mahratta women and children were taken prisoners. The army of Ahmad Shah Durrane seized 50,000 horses, 200,000 cows and camels and 500 elephants as booty. The rest of the Mahratta forces which had managed to escape from the battlefield were killed in the way by the residents of Shah-jahanabad. Their treasure and goods were also looted. Not a single Mahratta could return alive to the Deccan. When Balaji Rao heard of the sad calamity, he fell ill and died soon after.

Mulhar Rao Holkar and Bhao returned to the Deccan all alone. For a long time no trace of the Mahrattas could be found in the vicinity of Shahjahanabad.

Shah Alam ruled as King of India, Shujauddaulah was appointed minister and Najibuddaulah acted as Amirul Umra. A peremptory order was passed to post Najibuddaulah to Shahjahanabad, and to ask Mirza Jiwan Bakht, son of Shah Alum, to serve as his deputy. Shah Alum along with Shujauddaulah was asked to return to Shahjahanabad from Bihar, where the former was crowned king. Shujauddaulah was gorgeously robed and sent to the province of Oudh. Ahmad Shah Durranees left for Kandahar on the 16th of Shaban of the same year. On his arrival at Lahore he appointed his own deputy and proceeded towards Kandahar. Nawab Shujauddaulah Bahadur entered the province of Oudh with great pomp and splendour. Amirul Umra Najibuddaulah and Mirza Jiwan Bakht presented themselves before the King. The Sikhs came out and killed the agents of Ahmad Shah Durranees stationed at Lahore. They selected Jath as their own king and struck coins in his name and took possession of the province of Lahore. On hearing all this Ahmad Shah Durranees returned to Lahore from Kandahar. He fought with the Sikhs and utterly routed them. He looted their property and himself remained at Lahore. He first sent Nuruddin Khan Abdali with a large army to Kashmere and then marched to the province himself. He killed Jeewan Kashmiri who was Governor of the province and firmly established himself as its ruler. On taking possession of the forts, he left his agents at Lahore and returned to Kandahar. After the return of Ahmad Shah Durranees to Kandahar the Sikhs again appeared in large numbers and took possession of the province of Lahore and became very powerful. For some reason or other, Amirul Umra Najibuddaulah and Suraj Mal Jat fell out. Suraj Mal Jat collected an army and made preparations to fight with Najibuddaulah and arrived within five or six kos of Shahjahanabad. Amirul Umra Najibuddaulah came out of Shahjahanabad with a large army to meet him. A severe fight

took place. Suraj Mal Jat was killed in the struggle by Syed Mohammad Khan Balooch and Amirul Umra gained a complete victory.

Shah Alum.

Abul Mozaffer Jalaluddin Mohammad Shah Alum Badshah Ghazi was the son of Azizuddin Alamgir II. During the lifetime of his father he had to fly from one place to another for fear of Imadul Mulk, with whom he had to engage in many hard contests. At last he came to Bihar where with the help of Maharajah Shitab Rai the father of the author and the British East India Company he was crowned king of India. By forming an alliance with the minister Shujauddaulah Bahadur and with the help of the English he reigned at Allahabad for a long time. The history of the period commencing from the beginning of his reign to the end of his rule at Allahabad will be written in the accounts of the Governors of Bengal. From Allahabad Shah Alum wanted to go to Shahjahanabad, which was the capital of his forefathers. After the death of Amirul Umra Najibuddaulah who served with the then Prince Jiwan Bakht at Shahjahanabad, Shah Alum began to enlist the sympathies of men who might help him when occasion arose. After his accession to the throne the Mahratta Chiefs submitted a memorial to him from Deccan acknowledging their allegiance to the throne. This encouraged the King, who made up his mind to go to Delhi. Muniruddaulah, Wazirul Mumalik Shujauddaulah, Maharajah Shitab Rae Bahadur as well as the English, all prevented the King from going to Shahjahanabad. But as His Majesty persisted the English officials had to give in. Muniruddaulah objected to accompany the King and made alliance with the English, who gave him a jagir of one lakh of rupees in addition to the leases (tawahhud) of Kora and the province of Allahabad. A year or two after this event, Lord Hastings went to Benares to meet Wazirul Mumalik Shujauddaulah, with whom he settled Kora and the province of Allahabad. Muniruddaulah on his part paid all his dues to the company,

and it so happened that he fell ill and died. Mirza Najaf Khan however, accompanied the King, and Wazirul Mumalik Shuja-uddaulah went with His Majesty to a distance of seven manzils (a manzil is 20 miles). Shujauddaulah dissuaded the King from going to Shahjahanabad. Shujauddaulah Bahadur however reached the King as far as Farukhabad and then went to Oudh, His Majesty wending his way to Shahjahanabad.

Shah Alum when a prince had asked the Mahratta chief to come and assist him. Those few of them who were saved from the sword of Ahmad Shah Abdali and were fighting amongst themselves in the Deccan and Malwa, joined together, and equipping themselves with equipage and arms left for Shahjahanabad ostensibly with the object of paying their respects to the King but really with a view to increase their power and influence, and establish their authority in the imperial city. On reaching the suburbs of Shahjahanabad the Mahrattas took up the administration of the outskirts in their hands, and under some pretence interfered with the affairs of Zabita Khan. Shah Alum reached Shahjahanabad, and entering the fort, sat on the throne and honoured Abdullah Khan, son of Abdul Hamid Khan Cashmiri, by appointing him his attendant. Within a short time the King found himself in congenial society. He conferred upon Abdullah Khan the title of Moiduddaullah Khan Khanezaman Farzand Khan Bahadur Bahram Jang and made him his Lord Chamberlain.

The first thing that the Mahrattas did on reaching near Shahjahanabad was to undermine the power of Zabita Khan. They then began clamouring and making all sorts of complaints. The King was in a fix and took the advice of Najaf Khan. Najaf Khan was a strong man and he advised the King to chastise the Mahrattas for their impudence and effrontery. On receiving orders from the King, Najaf Khan came out of Shahjahanabad and mobilised an army. He made himself sufficiently strong to successfully cope with the Mahrattas, but his attempts were frustrated owing to the intrigues of influential men such as Abdul Ahmad Khan, Hasan-uddin Khan and Bahadur Ali Khan, who

conspired against him and advised the King to make peace with the Mahrattas. The King accepted their suggestion and issued orders to the guards to open the gates of the city. When the gates were opened, the Mahrattas entered the city without any molestation. The Mahratta chiefs accepted appointments under the King and were the recipients of royal favour. Under the advice of the state officers the King asked Mirza Najaf Khan to pay the expenses incurred in making peace with the Mahrattas. The Mirza had the courage to say in reply that he was a soldier, and as such was in possession of only the sword and shield and not of money. Through the intervention of Mirza Khalil, who was a shrewd and far-sighted man, and a friend of Mirza Najaf Khan, good and friendly relations were established between the Mahrattas and Mirza Najaf Khan. Mirza Najaf Khan thereupon paid a visit to the Mahratta chiefs in their camp. The Mahrattas on their part received him most cordially. They made him a present of elephants, horses, trays of jewels and costly things and having gained his goodwill, gave him a most respectful and splendid farewell.

Nawab Najaf Khan took the King and the Mahrattas with him, and with a large force started from Shahjahanabad to the country of Zabita Khan. Zabita Khan did not consider it politic to fight with the King, the Mahrattas and Najaf Khan, and repaired to Shakar Tal. Najaf Khan and the Mahratta chiefs left the King within forty miles of Shahjahanabad, marched towards Shakar Tal and besieged it. When hard pressed, Zabita Khan made his escape and took shelter under Shujauddaulah. Najaf Khan and the Mahratta chiefs, having devastated the country ruled by Zabita Khan, directed their attention to the invasion of the country administered by Malik Hafiz Rahmat and others. The Prime Minister restored peace between the Mahratta chiefs and Najaf Khan on the one side and Zabita Khan, Hafiz Rahmat and the Rohillas on the other. During this period letters were received from the Deccan demanding a return of the Mahratta chiefs. Relying on the peace that had been concluded, the Mahrattas with Najaf Khan returned to

Shahjahanabad, from where the former started for the Deccan. At the time of their departure they recommended Mirza Najaf Khan to the King.

Mirza Najaf Khan rose to high position. He obtained the sanction of the King to control the administration of those estates which were not under the direct possession of His Majesty, and thus obtained royal warrants to take up the management of parts of Shahjahanabad and the dependencies of Akbarabad. He raised an army of mercenary soldiers and marched against the Jats. The son of Suraj Mal Jat sent a force of 5,000 soldiers armed with muskets and about 16 cannons under the command of Shamroo Khan to oppose Najaf Khan. The two contending forces met at Kot and Jolesar in the suburbs of Akbarabad. In spite of his being wounded Najaf Khan showed such remarkable courage and fought with so much bravery that the enemy could not stand and at last fled. Thus victorious, Najaf Khan applied to the King for the Governorship of Akbarabad. His request was granted by His Majesty who sent him an appointment letter. He then took the fort of Akbarabad and brought the surrounding country under subjection. He then raised another army and with it besieged the fort of Deek, which was built by the son of Suraj Mal Jat. It was a strong well-garrisoned fort and it took Najaf Khan one whole year to take it. These successes established his prestige and brought extensive territories under his control; and in recognition of his services the King conferred upon him the title of Amirul-Umra and Zulfikaruddaulah Bahadur Ghalib Jang. The son of Suraj Mal Jat, who resided in the fort of Bharatpur, concluded peace with Najaf Khan on payment of a large sum of money. Najaf Khan rose in power and influence in the imperial court, and for a long time administered the country with great tact and ability. The people lived comfortably and in peace.

During this time, under the orders of the King, Abdullah Khan Kashmiri and Prince Farkhunda Bakht started with the

imperial forces from Shahjahanabad towards Sirhind and Patiala and commenced war with the Sikhs. The war had not ended when Abdullah Khan Kashmiri received a letter from His Majesty to the effect that the Prince should return from the place. He was therefore obliged to come back to Shahjahanabad. After sometime Amirul-Umra Najaf Khan Bahadur having obtained the consent of the King, imprisoned Abdul Ahad Khan Kashmiri and escheated his house and property. A few years after this Amirul-Umara Najaf Khan died and the Mah-rattas came into power. Madhoji Scindhia became supreme in matters of administration. But Gholam Qadir Khan, son of Zabita Khan, after the death of his father made his appearance at Shahjahanabad with a large force, captured Shah Alum, and sent him to prison. The villain not remaining satisfied with imprisoning the King he also blinded him. Madhoji Scindhia who proceeded to the Deccan, returned to Hindustan proper and having heard of the cowardly and diabolical act committed by the miscreant Gholam Qadir Khan, resolved to meet out exemplary punishment to him. After many struggles he succeeded in catching Gholam Qadir Khan alive whom he killed after inflicting many bodily tortures on him. Madhoji Scindhia then took Shah Alum out of prison and installed him on the throne, in which condition he reigned for a long time till through the exertions of General Lake the British East India Company could establish their influence in the metropolis of India.

It is not possible for the author of this little book to give a detailed account of the journey of General Lake and his army from Calcutta towards Shahjahanabad and the countries on this side of the Sikh territory, of his fight with Holkar and Daulat Rao Scindhia, nephew of Madhoji Scindhia, of the besiege of the fort of Bharatpur and of the recognition of British supremacy in those parts of the country. In short, during the regime of the British East India Company, King Shah Alum and the residents of Shahjahanabad lived in perfect ease and comfort. On the 7th of Ramzan 1221 Hijree Shah Alum breathed his last, having reigned for 48 years and 4 months.

On the 9th of Ramzan 1221 on the death of Shah Alum, the British East India Company placed Mohammad Akbar Shah on the throne in succession to his father. They spread the news of his installation far and wide. They struck coins in his name and prayers were offered on his behalf from the pulpit. They fixed an allowance for his personal expenses and he passed his life in perfect ease up to the present, that is the year 1227 Hijree. Mohammad Akbar Shah has been reigning at Shahjahanabad, the British supremacy having been recognised all round it.

V.—Note on the Discovery of Neolithic Writing in India.

By Ramaprasad Chanda, B.A., F.A.S.B., Superintendent,
Archæological Section, Indian Museum, Calcutta.

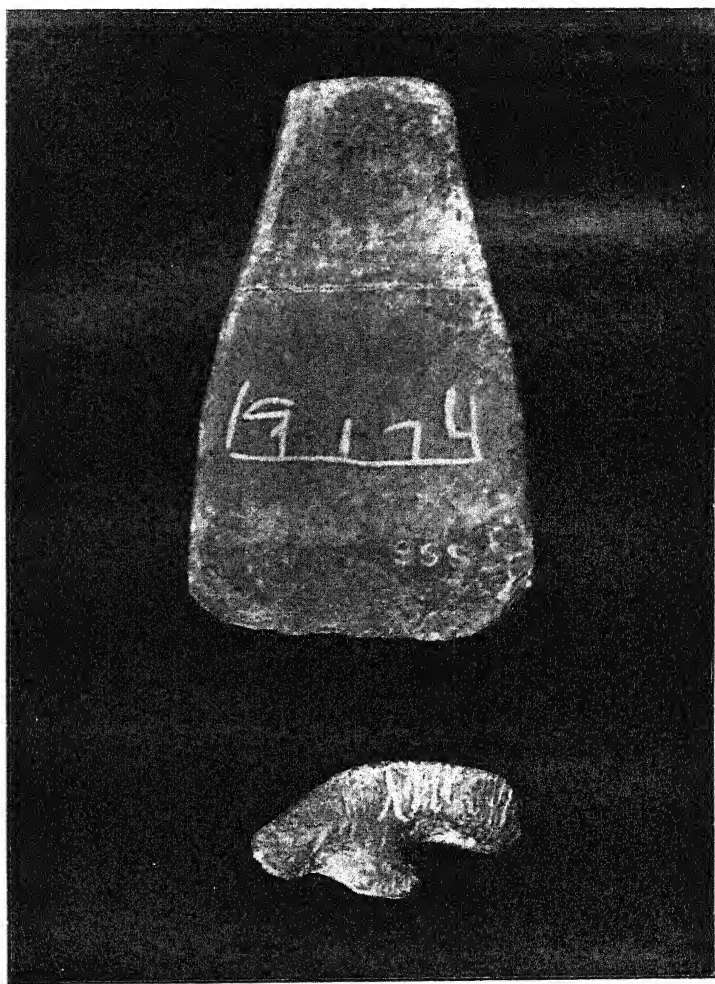
The discovery of Neolithic writing in India was almost simultaneously announced by Mr. Panchanan Mitra in an article entitled "New Light from Pre-historic India" in the *Indian Antiquary* of 1919 (pages 57—64) and by Professor D. R. Bhandarkar in a paper entitled "Origin of the Indian Alphabet" read at the Poona Meeting of the Oriental Conference which has already been published thrice.¹ The theory of these archæologists has been adversely criticised by Professor Hemchandra Das-Gupta in an article entitled "On the discovery of the Neolithic Indian Script."² Quite recently Professor R. C. Mazumdar of the Dacca University has lent his support to the theory by declaring that the "facts and figures" produced by Professor Bhandarkar "go a great way towards demolishing Bühler's theory" of the Semitic origin of the Brahmi script.³ Therefore Professor Bhandarkar's "facts and figures" deserve serious consideration. Professor Bhandarkar writes :—

"It may be mentioned here in passing that the prehistoric pottery (bearing 130 different kinds of marks, five of which are identical with the characters of the earliest type of Brahmi lip idug out in the Hyderabad cairns is associated with the Megalithic structures which cannot be later than 1500 B. C., and that some of the pottery exhibited in the Madras Museum

¹ *Calcutta Review* of January 1920, pp. 21-39. Proceedings and Transactions of the First Oriental Conference, Poona, Vol. II, Poona, 1922, pp. 305-318 with additions and plates in Sir Ashutosh Mukerji's Silver Jubilee Volumes, Vol. III, Part I, pp. 494-514.

² *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, New Series, 1921, Vol. XVII, pp. 210-212.

³ *Ibid*, Vol. XVII, 1922, p. 231.



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belongs to the Neolithic age, which cannot be brought down later than 3000 B.C." ¹

It may be observed that practice of erecting megalithic monuments to the dead still survives in certain localities in India and in the South no copper or bronze age intervenes between the Neolithic and the Iron ages. Professor Bhandarkar then goes on to strengthen his position by referring to the two inscribed neoliths in the Indian Museum thus :—

"If there is any scepticism still left on this point, it is completely dispelled I think by two neoliths lying in the collection of the prehistoric antiquities of the Indian Museum. The credit of perceiving their importance goes to Mr. Panchanan Mitra, who is perhaps the only Indian scholar of prehistoric archæology in India. While one day he was engaged upon inspecting the prehistoric artiercrafts in our Museum, he suddenly lighted upon these neoliths which he rightly inferred to be inscribed with some characters. He forthwith hastened to my office-room and placed them before me for examination. One of these was certainly a celt of greenish stone found in Assam. It bears apparently four letters, two of which are exactly and one almost exactly similar to those of the prehistoric characters of Egypt as may be seen from a comparison to the table published by Dr. F. Petrie in a recent number of the *Scientia*. And what is strange is that they have all been connected by one continuous line as in the prehistoric Minoan epigraphs. The other neolith came from a place near Ranchi and is a tiny piece of hematite stone shaped like the palm of the right hand. It is faintly scratched with three letters only, two of which bear fairly great resemblance to those of the Brāhmī lipi of the Asoka period. These were the letters at the ends, one of which was *ma* and the other *ta*. The middle letter, as it stood, could not be read for a long time. Then it occurred to me that the letter *ta* was evidently in a reversed form and the other, viz. *ma* must remain the same even when it is

¹ Sir Ashutosh Mukerji's Silver Jubilee Volume, III, Part I, p. 509.

reversed. Might the middle letter similarly present a reversed form? I at once held the neolith before a mirror, and to my agreeable surprise I found that the middle letter came fairly close to the Aśokan a." ¹

Professor Bhandarkar then concludes: "But what I emphatically assert is that when symbols of this prehistoric alphabet closely resembling some of the Brāhmī *lipi* are actually noticeable on the most ancient remains of primitive man in India, which cannot be later than 3000 B.C., and may be as early as 6000 B.C., it is now absurd to trace the Brāhmī to any Semitic script of 7000 B.C." ²

One of the inscribed neoliths of Professor Bhandarkar is not a neolith in the ordinary sense of the term, that is to say, it is not an artifact made of stone instead of metal. In the Museum Register and in Mr. Coggin Brown's Catalogue of Prehistoric Antiquities in the Indian Museum (page 124) it is described as a "piece of earthy hematite rubbed and scraped." It measures 1.4" in length and was found on the site of an old neolithic settlement near Ranchi. But that does not prove that the object has been lying there since neolithic times. As for letters what Professor Bhandarkar reads as *ma* has a straight line on the left. This type of *ma* with one straight and another hooked side is unknown elsewhere and so can hardly be recognized as Brāhmī *ma*. The only decipherable letter is reversed *ta*. But on the whole these so-called letters look more like scratches than anything else.

The other neolith referred to by Professor Bhandarkar is, as is evident from the plate facing page 508 of the Sir Asutosh Mukerji Silver Jubilee Volumes (III.I) No. 2, a blue stone celt or axehead placed upside down. If the plate is reversed by holding the book upside down we recognize five Arabic numerals 1, 9, 1, 7, 4 all underlined. These figures evidently denote a date—19th January 1874. In the Register of Antiquities of the Indian Museum it is stated that this stone

¹ Silver Jubilee Volume, III, Part I, pp. 511, 512.

² *Ibid* page 514.

celt was bought from a native at Nangpo on the Gauhati Road. Under the head Locality it is noted in the Register "Shillong, 1873." So the date 19th January 1874 must have been scratched by somebody in whose hands it passed in the beginning of the year 1874. There is another date, the 25th January 1878, written on one side with white paint. The date of entry in the Register of the Archæological Section is 26th September 1882. This axe-head measures 2·8 inches in length and 1·7 inch in its greatest breadth.

REVIEWS.

"The Problem of the Agamemnon" and "The Recognition Scene in the Choephoroe". (Oxford: published by Basil Blackwell; price two shillings each.)

Mr. E. S. Hørnle, I.C.S., of Dhanbad is probably the only scholar in the province who is engaged on the study of the Greek drama. In 1921 he published a book of "Notes on the Text of Aeschylus" and now he has published monographs whose titles are given above, in which he criticizes the views of the late Dr. Verrall of Cambridge on the plots of two famous Aeschylean plays. In the first, which was written when he was an undergraduate, Mr. Hørnle also gives the reader the benefit of Dr. Verrall's reply. The essays will well repay perusal and will form a valuable addition to the existing literature on the subject.

Much speculation has been aroused by the passage in the *Agamemnon* which apparently represents the King as reaching Argos on the morning after the night watchman there has seen the beacon fire that purported to announce the fall of Troy. It has been assumed that the news must have come much more quickly by beacon than any ship could have sailed and this led Dr. Verrall to suggest that no beacon chain ever really existed, but that the one beacon on Mt. Arachnaeus was part of a deeply laid plot. Mr. Hørnle has shown convincingly that the voyage could be accomplished in forty hours and that a beacon message despatched on a stormy evening from Troy would in all probability have been detained for twenty-four hours, since only on a clear night could a light be seen across the long gap from Mt. Athos to Euboea, which the poet specifically mentions. The mystery is thus explained, and if we follow Mr. Hørnle in thinking that Agamemnon purposely delayed the lighting of the beacon until he was himself ready to start back from Troy,

(we might even go further and suggest that he ordered the beacon not to be fired until he was well on his way to surprise his wife) the plot becomes comparatively simple. But perhaps Mr. Hœrnle has not pushed his argument to its logical conclusion when dealing with the part played by Aegisthus in the play. If Agamemnon really arrived before he was expected, what could be more natural than that Aegisthus should arrive late on the scene and what need is there to assume that any plot existed more subtle or detailed than a general arrangement to murder the King on his return?

In the second monograph Mr. Hœrnle has suggested a new explanation of the difficult recognition scene in the Choephoroe in which, according to the common reading, Electra infers the presence of Orestes from the resemblance of two locks of hair, left on Agamemnon's tomb, and of footprints on the ground, to her own hair and foot-marks. Dr. Verrall, accepting this interpretation generally, suggested that recognition was possible because of certain characteristics peculiar to the semi-oriental Pelopid family. Mr. Hœrnle points out that for this idea there is no evidence in the text. He suggests that it was the lock of hair only that was recognized and that the recognition was due partly to the limited number of persons that could have made such an offering on this particular tomb and partly to the fact that Electra and her brother had only parted, as he shows, some six years before. The footprint could not have been recognized; its presence and freshness only served to direct Electra to the spot where her brother was hidden. But if we follow Mr. Hœrnle so far we need not accept his reconstruction of the mutilated lines 205—211; a simpler solution is to attribute the whole of 206 and 209 to the scholiast. These lines account for all the seven apparent mistakes, duplications and errors of vocabulary which Mr. Hœrnle details and it would seem that a scholiast who failed to see the purport of the footprints and had little sense of the ludicrous might well have added just such lines as these in an attempt to point out what he thought to be the meaning.

G. E. F.

**Proceedings of a Meeting of the Council of
the Bihar and Orissa Research Society
held at the Society's Office on the 2nd
June 1923.**

PRESENT :

Mr. G. E. Fawcus (in the chair).

Mr. W. V. Duke.

Dr. Harichand Shastri.

Mr. R. G. Chaudhury.

Mr. D. N. Sen.

1. The proceedings of the previous meeting were confirmed.
2. With reference to item 14 of the Audit Report of 1921-22, it was resolved that further enquiries be made regarding the recovery of Rs. 113, paid to Mr. Duff of the Government Press for reading proofs.
3. With regard to items 3 to 8, in statement A, the Council desired that further action should be taken by the Treasurer regarding the objections referring to transactions with the Government Press.
4. With regard to item 2, in statement A, the Council accepted the explanation offered by Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Rai. They noted that the excess sums paid (items 9 & 10) had been recovered.
5. With regard to items 2 to 9 of statement C, the Council noted that enquiries were in progress regarding books worth Rs. 917-1-0 mentioned by the Auditor.
6. The Council accepts the statement by Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Rai that it was not now possible to give details of the office expenses of 1921.
7. The Council desired to have a further report from Mr. Sen about the half-tone blocks.

8. Resolved that the Treasurer be allowed a permanent advance of Rs. 100, to be recouped when necessary, and in any case at the end of each month.

9. Read an invitation from the President of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, requesting the presence of representatives of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society at the celebration of the centenary on Tuesday, the 17th July, 1923. Resolved that the Secretary be requested to ask Sir Edward Gait and Mr. E. H. Walsh to represent the Society at the celebration of the centenary of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, and that the President of the Society be informed that this has been done.

10. Read the note of the Curator, Patna Museum. Resolved that the Librarian be appointed a member of the Library Committee; that his note be referred to the Library Committee; and that the Library Committee be requested to draw up rules for the issue, retention and return of books.

11. Resolved that the Secretary and the Treasurer be requested to draw up a budget for the year 1923-24.

12. Considered a letter from the Honorary Secretary, K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, Bombay, proposing the exchange of the Journal of the Society with the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society. Resolved that the Council agree to exchange the Journal for the issues of 1922 and 1923, for the present.

13. Resolved that Dr. Subimal Sarcar be elected a member of the Society.

14. Read an application from the office clerk for being allowed a higher scale of salary. Resolved that the Council is not prepared to consider the application, as his appointment has not been yet confirmed.

15. Read and recorded the Hon'ble Mr. McPherson's note about the publication of Oriya script.

16. Resolved that the Council do not think it necessary to publish in the Journal the report of the Museum Committee.

D. N. SEN,

Honorary Joint General Secretary.

Rules for the Library of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.

1. The Library is for the use of the members of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society. Persons other than the members may use the Library with the special permission of the Honorary General Secretary.

2. Subject to the exceptions specified below such persons as are allowed to make use of the Library and reside in Patna may borrow and temporarily remove books from the Library.

3. Members shall be entitled to take out up to six volumes at a time. The term 'volume' shall include pamphlets and parts of works separately sewn.

4. In case of specially valuable books, as per list prepared by the Committee, a deposit covering the value of the books lent shall be required.

5. Every volume borrowed shall be returned to the Library within a month of the date on which it was removed from the Library.

6. A book returned to the Library may be again borrowed by the same person, provided that no other person entitled to use the Library has applied for it.

7. Members of the Society not residing in Patna may borrow and temporarily remove books from the Library on the above conditions, provided that the cost of carriage both ways be paid by the borrower.

8. The privilege of any member or other person to use the Library shall be suspended so long as he retains any book which he is not entitled to retain in accordance with these rules.

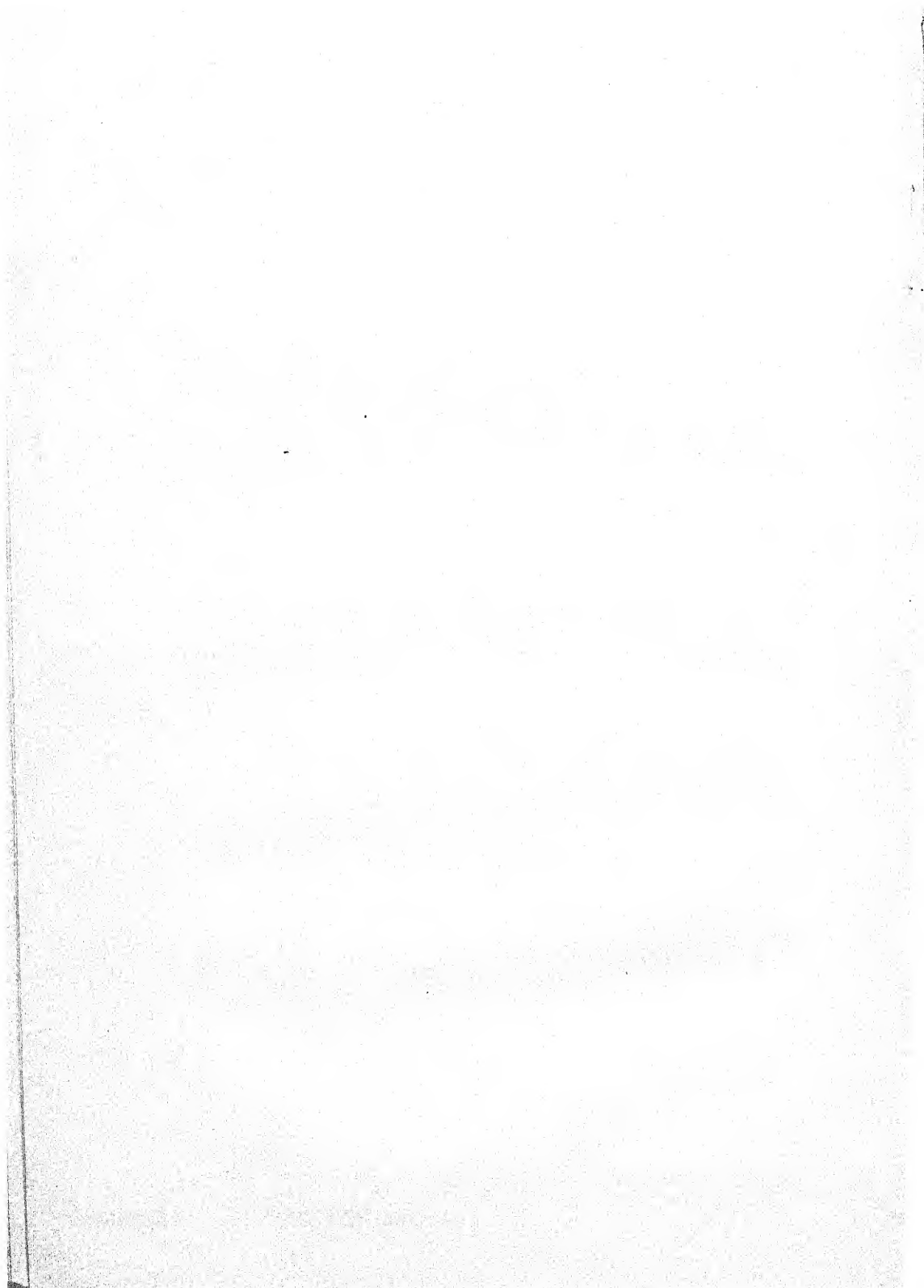
9. Books which are valuable on account of their rarity, or belong to a series which, being out of print, it may be difficult or impossible to replace, or books required for constant

reference, shall not be removed from the Library. A list of such books shall be drawn up and maintained by the Librarian.

10. Any borrower who mutilates, makes notes in, or otherwise injures a book shall be required to replace it at his own cost.

11. A general inspection of the Library and of the records of books issued and returned shall be made annually in January by the Librarian, and he shall submit a report on the subject to the Council. From the 1st to the 15th of January the Library shall remain closed, and all books whatever and by whomsoever borrowed shall be returned to the Library by the 31st December, each year. Any person failing to return books under this rule shall be dealt with as under rule 8.

12. The Library shall be closed on Sundays and all public holidays. It shall be opened on other days during the hours fixed from time to time by the Library Committee.



JOURNAL

OF THE

BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY.

VOL. IX]

1923.

[PARTS III & IV.

LEADING ARTICLES.

I.—The Jogimara Cave Inscription (with Plate).

By Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri, M.A., Ph.D. (Oxon.), Professor of Sanskrit, Muzaffarpur College.

This inscription was first brought to the notice of scholars by Bloch in the *Annual Report* of the Archaeological Survey of India for 1903-4, pp. 128ff. The interpretations of Bloch, Lüders,¹ Fleet,² and Boyer³ had the merit of leaving the question open. For they offered an explanation so obviously incongruous as to provoke scholars to a further investigation. The critical curiosity of Jayaswal⁴ succeeded in securing an accurate photograph (see the attached Plate). His version threw an altogether unexpected light on the subject. The present note along with a reproduction for the first time of the photograph is a summing up of our information about this undoubtedly important inscription, an examination of Jayaswal's reading and a new suggestion.

¹ Lüders, *Bruchstücke* p. 41.

² Fleet, *J.R.A.S.*, 1907, p. 511, note 4.

³ Boyer, *J.A.*, Ser. X, t. iii, pp. 484ff.

⁴ Jayaswal, *I.A.* Vol. XLVIII, 1919, p. 131. Jayaswal refers to the photograph in his article in the *I.A.* but the Editor of the *I.A.* omitted to publish it and thus succeeded in rendering the note almost useless.

A. Previous Readings.

Transcript.—

1. *Šutanuka*.

2. *devadaśikkyi*

3. *Šutanuka nama devadaśikkyi*

4. *taṃ kamayittḥa Balanaseye* (ba[la]na [baluna] Boyer).¹

5. *Devadinne nama lupadakkhe*.

Translation.—Sutanukā by name Devadāsī. The man of Benares loved her. Devadina by name the actor.

Criticism.—There are two clear slips in the reading, due, perhaps, to the use of a faulty impression: (a) *Balanaseye* misread as *Balanasiye* [cf. the *lu* of *Balanaseye* in l. 4, with the *lu* of *lupadokha* in l. 5.—exactly the same]; (b) the last letter in the third line misread as *kyi*; it is *ti*.

(a) should be translated not "the man of Benares" but Varuṇasevaḥ or Varuṇasevakaḥ = "worshipper of Varuṇa." In the above translation, apart from the textual errors pointed out, the incongruity lies in an actor recording a love-affair on a distant and dismal cave-dwelling! It would be difficult to find out a parallel instance in the whole of the Buddhist and Hindu literatures. A misapprehension of the technical meaning of the term *lupadakha* = *rūpadakṣa* (see below) is responsible for this extraordinary confusion.

B. Jayaswal's Reading.

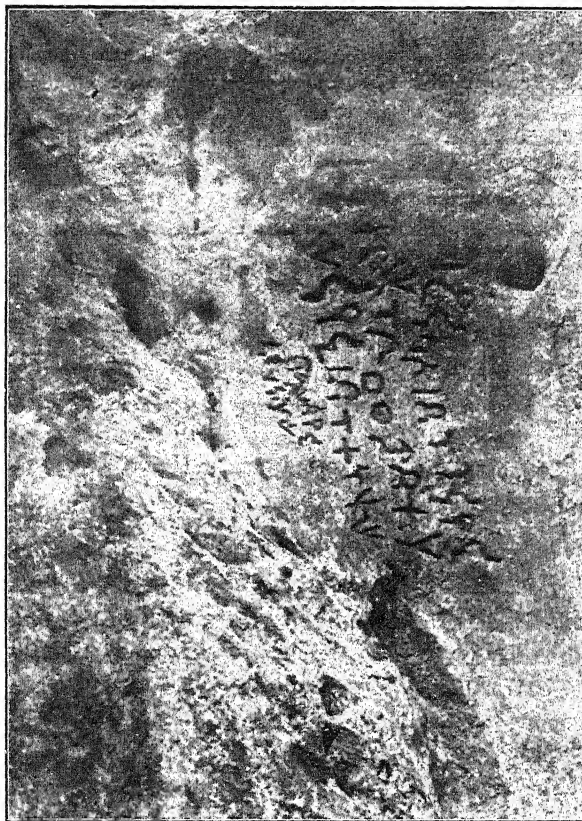
Transcript.—1. *Šutanuka* [I *], 2. *deva-daśiy[e]*, 3. *Šutanuka nama deva-daśi*, 4. *taṃka mayi=tha² Balunaseye [ti]*, 5. *Deva-dina nama [lupa-dakhe]*

English Translation.—"In favour of Sutanukā, the *devadar-sinā* (or *deva-dāsī*).

"(Order).—Sutanukā, by name, *devadarsinī*, of austere life, (is) now (or here) in the service of Varuṇa." "Devadina (=Devadatta) by name Rūpadakṣa.

Criticism.—Reading of *ti* at the end of the 4th line supposed to be an improvement on Bloch and Lüders' *kyi* at the end of the 3rd line is doubtful. It is *ti* no doubt but should go

¹Ibid. * Probably two letters—*nama*. ²or *tha*.



J. B. O. R. S., 1923.

JOGIMARA INSCRIPTION.

A. P. B. S.

with the 3rd line as *devadasitī*. Each of the lines 3—5 has one stop-line | vertical *pūrṇa-cheda* after it; *daḥhe* | (l. 5); *Balunaseye* | (l. 4); *devadasitī* | (l. 3). This *itī*—not uncommon in the Jātaka and an universally recognised mode of writing—would satisfactorily meet Jayaswal's charge of a grammatical mistake in leaving *Sutanukā nama devadasi* "hanging in the air—without a predicate."

The following points require further confirmation in the above translation:—

(a) "The restoration Devadarśī (the seeress of Varuṇa)" based on a datum of the Jātaka (Vol. VI. page 586), mentioning the Vārūṇī women who used to prophesy under the professed influence (*āveśa*) of god Varuṇa." The Jātaka (Vol. VI. page 586) referred to describes how Queen Phusatī came to her son with a great company,—

"*Maddā ca puttake disvā dūrato sotthim āgate vārūṇīva pavedhenti thanadhārābhisiñcathā' ti*"

translated by Cowell and Rouse as follows —

"And Maddi saw them safe and sound : *like one possesses* she sped,

Trembling, and felt all full of milk the breasts at which they fed."¹

The translation of *vārūṇīva* as "*like one possesses*" if taken to mean "to prophesy under the professed influence (*āveśa*) of god Varuṇa" as Rhys Davids² evidently takes it, is highly improbable, if not altogether wrong, for the following reasons:—

(i) Unsuitability to the context. No question whatsoever of prophesying even distantly alluded to. A mother feels her breasts full of milk at the sight of her long-lost children. Nothing more natural and she feels like a "*vārūṇī*."

(ii) Vārūṇī in its well-known significance as "Varuṇa's female Energy (personified either as his wife or as his

¹ Cowell and Rouse, The Jātaka (English Translation.) Vol. VI., 1907, page 321.

² Rhys Davids, Buddhist India, pages 235-36.

daughter, produced at the churning of the Ocean and sometimes, also, regarded as the goddess of spirituous liquor) ¹ [cf. Taitt. Āraṇyaka; MBh.; R.; Pur.], would not only suit the context but give the happiest possible expression to the simile. The uncontrollable inrush of mother's milk, long unused, at the sight of her young ones given up for lost, like unto the delirious joy of the nutritious Spirit of Water to slake the thirst of the long expectant Life on earth! Vāruṇī—the goddess *devī par excellence*, with her eternal twins Strength and Pleasure intoxicating thereof! Devī—*Varuṇasya Bhāryā yā jyesthā. Sukrādddevī vyajāyata | tasyāḥ putraṁ Balaṁ viddhi Surāṁ ca Suranandinīm* | MBh. Ā. 67.52. ²

(iii) Of the various meanings proposed ³ of the word Vāruṇī that “of one possessed” is unknown to the lexicographers. [cf. St. Petersburg's Dictionary.] Vāruṇī as “intoxicated, or reeling with pleasure” looking like one possessed by evil spirit and behaving like one momentarily bereft of reason might be readily accepted for the context of the Jātaka quoted above, but its prophesying parallelism to a sort of Pythian oracle “to prophesy smooth things” ⁴ requires corroboration either from the Hindu or the Buddhist tradition.

(iv) Finally, such soothsaying, even though existent, along with superstitions about omens, marks and fortune-telling, nowhere mentions the *aveśa* influence of any god, least of all of Varuṇa. ⁵ The Buddha's

¹ Monier-Williams, Sanskrit and English Dictionary, 1899, page 944.

² MBh. Edn. Kṛṣṇācārya and Vyāsa-cārya, Nirṇaya-Sāg., 1906, Vol. I. page 119.

³ Vācaspatyam, 1881, page 4883.

⁴ Rhys Davids, Buddhist India, pages 235-36.

⁵ The Jataka, Trans. Cowell and Rouse :—i, 137; ii, 137; iii, 142; iv, 144; 229; v, 154; vi, 7, 250; ii, 141, 173; v, 108, 154, 247, 264; vi, 54; i, 149; iv, 79; 151; iii, 81; vi, 4, 245 etc.

trances¹ in which he foresees the future are all self-willed and any extraneous agency is not sympathetic to the atmosphere of the Jātaka. It nowhere suggests the honouring or officially recognising such a *devadarsinī* prophetess, supplies no information about their being *taṃkamāyī*, "of austere life", on the contrary, such a laying claim to superhuman gifts (*uttarim nussa-dhammapalapa*) is regarded as a most heinous offence, to be sternly repressed. cf. Article 4, Title I of the Pratimoksa.

(b) "The objection to *Devadāsī* is that the word is a very late expression."² To say so is to confess oneself as A.C. and not B.C. Then it was man first, woman next derived from and dependent on him [cf. *Līṅgaprakaraṇam* of Pāṇini]. Now it is woman first and by herself, man nowhere. *Devadāsī* is very late indeed, if we take her socially emancipated self dedicated to the service of some particular deity or temple, who begins as Miss Nobody and ends as *Madame le Dieu* profanely styled Mrs. Everybody. But placed in an inscription of about the third century B.C., she has to put up with her old status. She is only the female counterpart (*striyām nīp*) of *devadāsa*. And *devadāsa* is fairly early and quite familiar to the Buddhist literature in the sense of "a servant of a monastery."³ *Devadāsī* was such a female servant of a monastery: probably a maid-servant of the *Bhikkhunīs*.

(c) Jayaswal⁴ has very rightly pointed out that Lüders missed the meaning of *lupaḍakhe-rūpaḍakṣa*. "It is a technical, constitutional term which means a city magistrate or some minister" occurring in the *Milinda-pañho*, Bk. V, 23 (344). But it is a special kind of official with all his functions minutely laid down. The subject matter of the present inscription

¹ The Jataka i, 137; ii, 38, 183, 192; iv, 134, 137; i, 103; v, 176; iv, 208, 246, 303, 304; vi, 32, etc.

² Jayaswal, I.A. op. cit. p. 131.

³ Monier-Williams, Skt.-Eng. Dictionary, op. cit. p. 493.

⁴ Ibid.

if an official recognition of or a laudatory statement regarding the prophetess of austere life *taṃkamayī* is not only not included in but positively irrelevant to his office. Thus the *Milinda-pañño*¹—

“ And furthermore, O king, those of the Bhikkhus who are learned in the Vinaya (Rules of the Order, Canon Law), wise in the Vinaya, skilled in detecting the source of offences, skilled in deciding whether any act is an offence or not, whether an offence is grievous or slight, whether it can be atoned for or not, skilled in deciding questions as to the rise, the acknowledgment, the absolution, or the confession of an offence ; as to the suspension, or the restoration, or the defence of an offender, who are perfect masters in the Vinaya—such Bhikkhus are called, O king, ‘ The Rūpa-dakṣas in the Blessed One’s City of Righteousness’.”

Whatever might be the etymological formation of the word, the duties assigned to it leave no room for doubt as to its being a judicial post, perhaps subordinate to the Arhats, chief judges according to the Dhammanagara. A “ Rūpadakṣa ” is to judge an erring offender, not to recommend or appraise the services of any god-possessed seeress however austere she might be. If the said seeress had deviated from the path of Vinaya one could understand a “ Rūpadakṣa ” stepping in and stopping it. But she is *taṃkamayī*, which is another story.

Thus it is evident from the above that Jayaswal’s version though substantially correct in reading leaves unsolved many real difficulties by way of interpretation. Some of these are obviated in the reading suggested below.

C.—Proposed Reading.

Transcript.

1. *Sutanuka* [*nama] |
2. *Devadāsiy*[a] |
3. *Sutanukanama* | *devadasiti* |
4. *Taṃ kamayitha Balunaseye* |
5. *Devadina nama* | *lupadakhe* |

¹ Rhys Davids, The Questions of King Milinda, S. B. E. Series, Oxford, 1894, p. 236.

Sanskrit Equivalent.

1. Sutanukā nāma.
2. Devadāsyāḥ.
3. Sutanukā nāma devadāśī ti |
4. Tām kāmāyāmāse Varuṇasevaḥ |
5. Devadattaḥ nāma | Rūpadakṣaḥ |

English Translation.

[Form of Judgment.]

Re.—

2. About the female servant of a monastery.
1. Sutanukā by name.

[Text of Judgment,]

[Name]—3. Sutanukā by name |

[Profession.]—is a female servant in the monastery |

[Offence.]—4. Her, Varuṇaseva (a worshipper of Varuṇa) caused to fall in love.

[Trying Judge.]—5. Devadina by name, Officer-in-charge of Offences against the 'Vinaya'.

Notes.

- (i) *Devadāśī*—*Devadāśī*, feminine form of *devadāsa* "servant of a monastery" as given above. Such servitors, of either sex, naturally belonged to the Buddhist Order, not perhaps as members of the order but as lay devotees. Various were the differences in status and duties between the two, but the one thing in common was celibacy.¹ Aśoka, in his Bhabra Edict, addressed to the Buddhist Order (the *saṅgha*), recommends to the brethren and sisters of the order, and to the lay disciples of either sex (under which may be included the *devadāsas* and *devadāśīs*), frequently to hear and to meditate upon certain selected passages. One of them is the *Munigāthā* now found in the Sutta Nipāta, verses 206-220. The Sutta Nipāta² expounds

¹ Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, 1903, p. 142.² Fausboll, *Sutta-Nipāta*, Lond., 1834, p. 69.

and amplifies those five precepts of training in the Buddhist Decalogue, the *Daśaśīla* (also termed the ten *Śikṣā-padas*—“*Sikkhapadas*”) which are binding on the laity. Monks and nuns to follow all the ten, the lay devotee the first five only, of which the third is a prohibition of unchastity¹. The Buddhists rigorously watched the conduct of *devādāsīs*. To begin with they did not believe in women. The Matron Gautamī² after her husband's death wanted to become a nun and waited on the Buddha in the Banyan garden. But the Buddha refused, because he would not admit females into the order and left for Vaiśālī. At the instances of Ānanda³, the Buddha at last consented⁴ on the condition of Gautamī submitting to eight duties⁵ of subordination (*garudhamma*) which the latter did.⁶ This reluctance of the Buddha clearly foresaw the danger of admitting women. “If no woman had been admitted into the order,” he prophesied to Ānanda, “the Good Law would stand 1,000 years, but now chastity and holiness will not last long, and the Law will only stand 500 years.” Even Gautamī wavered in her vows, while during the absence of the Lord at Śrāvastī, the scandalous conduct of some other nuns was the matter of public indignation.⁷ The *devādāsī* Sutanukā in the inscription under investigation is probably another of those

¹ Childers, Dictionary of the Pāli Language, London, 1872-75 s. v. *śīlā* and references.

² Paramattha Dipanī, Part V. commentary on the Therīgāthā Ed. Miller. Lond. 1893. p. XI.

³ Legge, Travels of Fa-Hien. Oxford, 1886, p. 45.

⁴ Cullavagga (Vinaya Piṭaka II), ed. H. Oldenberg, Lond. 1890, X, 1.

⁵ Rockhill, The Life of the Buddha and the Early History of his Order, Lond. 1884, p. 61.

⁶ Schiefner, Eine Tibetische Lebensbeschreibung Sakyamunis, St. Petersburg. 1848, 268.

⁷ Cullavagga, op. cit. X, 9-27.

lay devotees who was tried and convicted for the same offence—an offence against the Vinaya—(dealt with in the *Pārājikā*—*dhamma*)¹, viz. breach of the vow of chastity,² applicable to both monks and nuns and the laity³.

- (ii) *Kamaittha*, Skt. *Kāmayāmāse* “caused to fall in love.” It specifies the offence referred to above. It is not the general sense of “love” as in Sanskrit. In Pāli, it signifies a special indictment and indicates a particular crime under the general category of bad *karma*, as borne out by the word *kameti*⁴ used by the commentary in paraphrasing *anurodho* “compliance.” cf. In answer to the question, “Which are the three causes of bad (*karma*)?” is mentioned first of all “lust”. What is “lust”? That which is *rago*, *sarago*,⁵ *anunayo*⁶ (pandering to the sensual appetites of others cf. *Athasālīnī*, 362), and *anurodho*. *Anurodho* is opposed to *virodho*, *pañvirodho*.⁷ And here the Cy. paraphrases by *kameti*.⁸ This “compliance” or *anurodho*, i.e. *karma* on the part of the *devadāsī* Sutanukā is a clear breach of her vow of chastity as insisted on in the *Cullavagga*⁹ and hence an offence against the Vinaya,¹⁰ calling for *prātimokṣa* or disciplinary measures¹¹ to be decided on by the *Rūpadakṣa*, “perfect masters in the Vinaya”,¹² “entrusted with *Dhamma-rakkhā*.”¹³

¹ Childers, op. cit.—*Pārājikādharmāḥ*; contrast *S.B.E.* XIII, 3.

² Mahāvīyutpatti, ed. Minayef, St. Petersburg. 1887.

³ Hardy, Eastern Monachism, Lond. 1880, Ch. 17; *S.B.E.* Vol. XX, p. 321.

⁴ Samyutta Nikāya, i, 111.

⁵ *Athasālīnī*, 362.

⁶ Milinda Pañho, 44, 122, 322.

⁷ Cittuppāda-kāṇḍam, kāmāvacara-aṭṭha-mahācittāni, § 1060.

⁸ Kathā Vatthu, 485.

⁹ Cullavagga, X. 1.

¹⁰ Ibid, X. 9—27.

¹¹ Mahāvīyutpatti, op. cit. § 257.

¹² Milinda Pañho, V. 23.

¹³ Ibid.

(iii) *Balunaseye*.—Skt. *Varuṇasevaḥ* “a worshipper of Varuṇa.” In the R̥ig-Vedic age Varuṇa was regarded as the greatest of all gods next to Indra, though the number of hymns to him alone (apart from Mitra) hardly exceeds a dozen.¹ But his greatness as a sovereign god gradually dwindled away by the time of the Atharvaveda and in post-Vedic pantheon he is only an Indian Neptune, god of the sea,² still a diminutive O’uranós,³ encompassing the world. However less important than of yore, worship of and sacrifices to Varuṇa never went entirely out of vogue. He is typically Indian in the sense that both Hindus and Buddhists have accepted him amongst their deities. In the *Guṇa-karaṇḍa-vyūha* he is among the gods of northern Buddhism—“From between his (Padīnapāṇi’s) shoulders sprang Brahmā; from his two eyes, the sun and the moon; from his mouth, the air; from his teeth, Sarasvatī; from his belly, Varuṇa,⁴ etc. Then, again, in the *Hevajra-tantra-sūtra* which figured historically in the conversion of the thirteenth century A.C. Mongolian emperor Khoubilāi—“In the skull-caps held by the left hands of the Hevajra (Yi-dam) are personages, one of which is, according to Grünwedel, God of the Water, Varuṇa.⁵ As regards the continuity of Varuṇa-worship by Hindus from the earliest days till now one can refer to the elaborate descriptions of Varuṇa images to be found in the *Viṣṇudharmottara* and similar works on Hindu iconography.⁶ Much valu-

¹ Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 62; *Vedic Reader*, 1917, p. 134.

² *Ibid.* *History Sanskrit Literature*, p. 77.

³ Weber, *History Ind. Lit.*, Manu and Zachariae, 1904, page 35.

⁴ Hodgson, *The Languages, Literature and Religions of Nepal and Tibet*, page 88.

⁵ Getty and Deniker, *The Gods of Northern Buddhism*, Oxford, 1914, page 125

⁶ Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II, part II, page 530, cf. also MBh. A—66-42, 66-15, 63-52-3; Va.—136-24, 41-5112911, 292-29, Sa.—91, 9-6, 10-16, 911; U—98-10-25; Sa—481H11, Ann.—259-13, Rāmāyaṇ Yuddha kāṇḍam, Sargam—1-IV.)

able information is embodied in the Purāṇas, the Law books and the commentaries thereon.¹ Even to-day, during a drought, Varuṇa is invoked by *mantras* and *pūjā* and prayed for showers. Thus the Varuṇa-worshipper of the inscription might be either a Buddhist of a particular sect or a Hindu priest. In Buddhist India, a Śramaṇa was distinguished from a Brāhmaṇa, the *upāsaka* from the *pabbajita*, etc. according to their ways of life; they did not call themselves Buddhists². In the eyes of the Rūpadakṣa, *Kamayitha* was the crime: if a Buddhist, the Varuṇaseva was equally responsible and guilty for "falling in love;" if a Hindu, Sutanukā the *devadāsī* was to suffer for "being made to comply in love."

- (iv) *Devadina, devadiṇṇa, devadatta*.—*diṇṇa* has been cited by Patañjali³ as a corrupt form for *datta*. The name Devadatta is too popular both in the Buddhist and the Hindu literatures to require any further comment.
- (v) *Lupadakhe, Rūpadakṣaḥ*.—A judicial officer, "learned in the Vinaya", "wise in the Vinaya", *nidāna-paṭhana-kusala*⁴ i.e. skilful in deciding the *pros* and *cons*, and entrusted with the maintenance of *dhamma*, the Rūpadakṣa seems to be especially designed to try an offence against the Canon Law, like that of Sutanukā.

Purport.

The Sutanukā inscription is a record of the finding of a Canon judge about the misconduct of a lay sister, a female servant of a monastery. No canon or code can subsist without well-defined disciplinary measures against its violation. Such measures adopted by the Buddhists are laid down in details in the *Prāli-*

¹ Vācaspatyam, T. N. Tarkavācaspati, 1881, pp. 4883-4.

² Rhys Davids, Buddhist India, 1903, page 294.

³ Patañjali, (Ben.) Introduction.

⁴ Milinda Pañho, op. cit. V. 23.

mokṣa, divided into eight titles,¹ cases extending from a simple warning² to expulsion³ and *Brahmadāṇḍa* (social ostracism)⁴. The code is practically the same for monks and nuns. Cases of delicts were not uncommon. Even Aśoka⁵ orders removal from the Saṅgha of anyone guilty of creating internal disaffection. More serious was the offence of a breach of the vow of chastity⁶ and *ad vitam aut culpam* not less rare. Women in particular are always looked upon with suspicion⁷. Many regulations owe their origin to the incessant delicts of six lewd nuns. Whether nun or laywoman, want of chastity was a heinous crime in either, and in the first article in the first title of the *Prātimokṣa*⁸—case involving expulsion from the congregation.⁹

As regards the punishment itself, one is lost in conjectures. It might have been formal banishment *Pabbājanīyakamma*,¹⁰ or *Nissāraṇā*¹¹ removal or simple *Parivāsa*¹² living apart. In any case, Sutanukā seems to have been temporarily confined to a particular cell with a record of her offence inscribed over it—perhaps as a warning and an example to others.

The provenance of the inscription in the Surgujā State¹³ 22°38' and 24° 6' N and 82° 31' and 44° 5' E, bears traces of some religious (probably Buddhist) foundations there. "The chief

¹ Mahāvvyutpatti ed. Minayeff. § 256.

² Cullavagga, I, 25: Mahāvagga (Vinaya Piṭaka I) 1, 19, ed. H. Oldenberg, Lond. 1879.

³ Sutta-Vibhaṅga (Vinaya Piṭaka III. IV) ed. H. Oldenberg, Lond., 1881-82, I, 79.

⁴ Prātimokṣa Sūtra, Minayeff, St Petersburg, 1869, VI. 4.

⁵ Aśoka, Kausāmbi Inscription.

⁶ Mahāvvyutpatti, op. cit. § 257.

⁷ Avadānakalpalatā, ed. S. C. Das and Vidyābhusaṇa. Bib. Indica Series, Vol. I. P. 463, V. 129.

⁸ Cullavagga op. cit. § 256.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Prātimokṣa, Title II, Art. 13.

¹¹ Mahāvagga, IV, 4; X, 6.

¹² Cullavagga, II. III.

¹³ Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. XXIII. p. 170; Vol. XXVI plate 39.

archæological remains are the stone gateways, rock caves, and tunnel on Rāmgarh Hill, and the deserted fortress at Jūba."¹ The wall paintings in the caves are sometimes regarded as the oldest specimens of the kind as yet found in India.² The local name itself, "Yogimārā" is a mystery. Some ancient Indian geographical names like Varānāsi, Bodhgayā, etc., have survived right through the mediæval days, till the present. Does the name "Yogimārā" allude to some local native tradition of the long, long past, when the cave was used as a penitentiary for some erring devotee to observe his enforced asceticism in? If so, the proposed reading above would have another claim to serious consideration.

Importance of the Inscription.

(a) *Palæography*.—It contains specimens of the earliest Brāhmī about the third century B.C. In its absence of variants, it is even slightly anterior to Aśoka, *su* twice, *ta* thrice, *nu* and *ta* twice, *na* 5 times, *ma* 4, *de* and *va* 3, *da* 3, *si* 2, *lu* twice—exactly the same forms all through. Against this assertion of a stratum earlier than Aśoka's, may be urged a really disparate meagreness of materials, specially in view of the perfectly preserved Rummindei Pillar without alternative forms. But an analysis of the other inscriptions of Aśoka even singly, proves the existence of several, both archaic and more advanced, alphabets in the third century B.C. According to Bühler,³ "an archaic alphabet was chosen for the perpetuation of the Edicts but the clerks mixed the forms." Śutanukā, perhaps, marked the transition from the archaic to Aśoka, and as such unique of its kind discovered as yet.

(b) *Language*.—It is in a Māgadhī, more akin to the grammatical Mg. than Aśoka or that in the dramas. It uses only *ś* Var. xi. 3, and Hc. iv. 268, no *r*, final *o* > *e*, Var. xi. 10. Hc. iv. 287-8, long *ā*, *ī*, and *ū* > short *a*, *i* and *u*. Now the earliest

¹ Ibid. p. 170.

² Beglar, Cunningham's Reports, Vol. XIII. p. 40.

³ Bühler, On the Origin of the Indian Brāhma Alphabet, 1898, p. 43.

preserved Prakṛt grammar is the *Prākṛtaprakāśa* of Vararuci,¹ not later than the first century A.C. It presupposes previous Prakṛt materials. The Sutanukā Māgadhi in its close similarity to the description of grammatical Māgadhi, may have been one of a type used as the said materials. Evidently there were many others, now lost. The beginning of the Māgadhi Prakṛt is shrouded in obscurity. When, how and why, Māgadhi attained its importance in connection with the propagation of the teaching of the Buddha, himself a native of Kapilavastu and hence speaking a different tongue, is one of the arresting problems of early India. No solution would be satisfactory unless and until all the links, missing or misplaced, are discovered and rearranged, from the Buddha to Aśoka. Of them, not the least important and as yet imperfectly understood, is the Śīsunāga period, pregnant with portents, preceding the Nandas and the Mauryas. Relevant to the present discussion is the following tradition about the characteristics of Māgadhi :—

*“Śrūyatehi Māgadheṣu Śīsunāgo nāma rājā ; tena duruccārā-
naṣṭau varṇānapāsyau svāntahpur eva pravarttito niyamaḥ ;
ṭakārādayascatvāro mūrdhanyāstrīyavarīyamūṣmāpastrayāḥ kṣa-
kārasca.”*²

English translation.—“There is a tradition that in Magadha was a king called Śīsunāga ; by him was introduced a rule in his own harem, forbidding the use of eight letters difficult to pronounce ; the four cerebrals beginning with ṭ (i.e. ṭ, ṭh, ḍ, ḍh), the three (?) sibilants excepting the third (i.e. ś, ṣ and ṣ) ? and the conjunct kṣa.”

A critical estimate of the above will appear in a subsequent issue. For the present, the Sutanukā Māgadhi of about the 4th—3rd century B.C. may be claimed as a valuable evidence in construing the sequence and essence of the three well-known varieties of Māgadhi, viz. grammatical, inscriptional, and dramatic.

¹ Banerji-Sāstri, *Evolution of Māgadhi*, Introd. Oxford, 1923, p. 35.

² *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* of Rājasekhara, *Gaskell's Oriental series*, No. 1, p. 50.

Appendix.

Various objections have been urged against the proposed reading. Some are real and pertinent. But none of them is so difficult of solution as it might appear at first sight. They may be taken in their order of untenability.

(i) "It is awkward that the Rūpadakṣa records his finding without pronouncing the punishment." This objection is obviously based on a misapprehension of the Rūpadakṣa's functions. A careful analysis of the latter would show that his business was only to decide an offence not to punish it. He was not a judge but a judge's help and umpire. There were two distinct kinds of judicial officers—(1) the judge proper, called the Arahāt, cf. the *Dhamma-nagara*, and (2) the Lūpadakha, cf. the *Milindapañho*. A failure to grasp this difference in their functions has led to Rhys Davids¹ complaint of unintelligibility. It is the old story of the erudite scholar who ignores the obvious and runs after the ingenuous. It is all the more strange in view of the fact that the institution of such persons "well versed in law" to help the trying magistrate in deciding a case has been widely known to exist both in ancient and modern times, in the west as well as the east. To take only one instance. The *juris-prudentis*² "skilled in the (Roman) *Judicia*" (both *privata* and *publica*) to decide a cause as the *Judex* or umpire and leaving the punishment proper or giving effect to his decision, to the Praetor—bears a strikingly curious parallel to the Lūpadakha "learned in the Vinaya" (Canon Law)³ to decide an offence as the trying *amatya*⁴ or judicial official and leave the punishment or the carrying out of the decision to the Arahats. Compare the Lūpadakha's duties with proceedings in the Roman administration of justice as follows:—

"Mode in which the Praetor exercised jurisdiction.—In very simple causes the Praetor at once decided the matter in dispute, and the process was termed *Acito extraordinaria*;

¹ Rhys Davids, The Questions of King Milinda, *S.B.E.*, 1894, p. 236.

² Latin Dictionary, Lewis and Short, 1917, p. 1018.

³ *Milindapañho*, V. 23, p. 234.

⁴ The Sinhalese Commentary on the *Milindapañho*, op. cit.

but in the great majority of causes, hence termed *Actioneris Ordinariae*, he appointed one or more umpires, for whom the general term is *Judex* to inquire into the facts of the case, and to pronounce judgment. After the *Judex* had pronounced judgment it became the duty of the Praetor to give effect to that judgment (*Addicebat Bona vel Damna*).¹ "He frequently sought the advice of those who were learned in the law, (*juris-consultus, juris-prudentis*) and who, when called in to assist him were termed his *consilarii* or *Assessores*."²

Read Arabat³ for praetor, ⁴ learned in the Vinaya (Canon) Law⁵ for "learned in the law" (Edicts, Twelve Tables and Judicia)⁴ and *Lūpadakha*⁵ for *juris-prudentis*.⁴ In fact, the last two are almost a mutual paraphrase. *Jurisprudentis—prudens in jura civili*⁵ skilled or learned, i.e. expert in the law: *Lūpadakha—Rūpadakṣa—dakṣa*⁶ skilled, learned, i.e. expert in *rūpa*. *Rūpa*⁷ itself has been a subject of critical controversy. It refers to an objective consideration of the moral being and his contact with an external world—the whole relation being from the Buddhist practical point of view intimately connected with the Vinaya. Apart from their undoubted psychological interest so ably discussed by C. Rhys Davids⁸ the *rūpakandani* of the *Dhamma-saṅgaṇi*⁹ discusses the objective phenomena, the material existences with the different senses, sensuous appetite, etc. (the *rūpakandam* I—Xff). The Vinaya has to refer to the same things from another, i.e. canonical, point of view. Hence an "expert in the Vinaya" is named an *expert in rūpa* (cf. *Milindapañho*, op. cit.).

¹ Ramsay and Lanciani, A Manual of Roman Antiquities, 1901, p. 319.

² Ibid, p. 320.

³ *Milindapañho*, V. 23.

⁴ Ramsay and Lanciani, Manual, op. cit. pp. 319-20.

⁵ Cic. Lael. 2, 6.

⁶ Monier-Williams, Skt. Eng. Dict. op. cit. 465.

⁷ C. Rhys Davids, Introduction (ii).

⁸ C. Rhys Davids, Buddhist Psychology, 1900, pp. xlvii-lxiii.

⁹ *Abhidhamma Piṭaka*, Bk. I.

The close similarity between the functions of the *jurisprudentis* and *Lūpadakha* are specially instructive.

Juris-prudentes.

Lupadakha.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>(1) Giving opinions (<i>respondere</i>), answering nearly to modern collections of precedents¹ canonical, civil, etc.</p> <p>(2) Advising best mode of conducting the case (<i>cavere</i>) cf. <i>advocatus</i> which never meant a pleader until the imperial times.³</p> <p>(3) Defending a client (<i>agere</i>).⁴</p> | <p>Skilled in deciding whether any act is an offence or not according to the Vinaya precedents.²</p> <p>Deciding questions, as to the rise, the acknowledgement, the absolution, or the confession of an offence.²</p> <p>The defence of an offender.⁵</p> |
|---|---|

In Muhammadan days the relation between a *Kāzi* and a *Mutti* and more recent British methods in India (of course, under wholly different circumstances) of consulting *Pandits* and *Maulavis* to help the judge to decide the Brahmanical and Muhammadan Laws are too well known to escape comparison with their Buddhist and Roman prototypes, however different in details, the *Lupadakha* and the *Jurisprudentes*.

(ii) "The inscription is non-Buddhistic, conferring a right of worship on a Devadāsī or Devadarsinī." This view is more quaint than accurate. Apart from the mention of the *Lūpadakha* who is unquestionably a Buddhist functionary (see above), there are two reasons pointing to the non-Brahmanical origin.

(a) Language.—The rise of Buddhism found India with two main languages⁶—(1) Brahmanic, the literary language of the *Brāhmaṇas* and the *Upaniṣads*, out of which was elaborated what is technically called Sanskrit, later on perfected by Pāṇini; (2) Vernaculars from Gandhāra to Magadha (6th century B.C.);

¹ Mommsen, History of Rome, English Transl. Dickson, 1901, Vol. IV, pp. 255-56.

² *Milindapañho*, op. cit. V. 23.

³ Ramsay and Lanciani, op. cit. p. 356.

⁴ Kelke, Primer of Roman Law, 1914, p. 4.

⁵ *Mahāvagga*, IX, 4, 9, 10ff.

⁶ Rhys Davids, Buddhist India, op. cit., pp. 152-5.

and a conversational dialect perhaps based on that at Sāvatti (6th—5th century B.C.), gradually growing into the Pāli, the Aśokan (3rd century B.C.), thence the Lena dialect (2nd century B.C.).¹ Thus from the 6th to the 1st century B.C., specially during the 6th—3rd century B.C. period, the Brāhmanas always used (1) and the Buddhists (2), (excluding the Ardha-Māgadhi of the Jains), only from the 1st century A.C., (1) is used in coins and inscriptions while from the 4th—5th century A.C., (1) becomes the sole medium, (2) having become merged into it in the meantime. If, therefore, the present inscription, palaeographically akin to Aśoka, is claimed as non-Buddhistic, the use of (2) instead of (1) becomes incomprehensible. The language not only of this but of all inscriptions before the Christian era clearly demonstrate that neither Brāhmanical learning nor Brāhmanical institutions though existent, occupied a prominent position in the public eye² gazing wistfully towards Buddhism with its vernacular message to the mass.

(b) Object.—300 B.C. to 100 A.C. abound in inscriptions recording gifts or grants by kings, princes, chiefs, artisans, goldsmiths, merchants and ordinary householders; “but not one of them is given in support of anything—of any opinion or divinity or practice—with which the Brāhmins had anything to do.”³ Kōśala King Pasenadi’s gift to the Brāhmaṇa Pokkharāsadi⁴ and the Māgadha King Seniya Bimbisārā’s grant to the Brāhmaṇa Soṇadaṇḍa⁵ only serve to emphasise the above contention. Inscriptional records (invariably in Sanskrit) of grants to Brāhmaṇas begin from the 2nd century A.C. and multiply from the 4th century A.C. under the Guptas, noted for patronizing Brāhmanical sacrificial rites. Even the latter never mention any grant of “right of worship.” To have the right to appropriate a temple’s revenue accruing from the public’s worship therein is intelligible but to claim the sole right of worship is repugnant to all Indian—whether Brāhmanical, Jaina or Buddhist—tradition.

¹ Pischel, G. D. P. S., 1901, page 5.

² Bhandarkar, R. G., J.B.B.R.A.S., 1901.

³ Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, op. cit., page 152.

⁴ *Dialogues of the Buddha*, Transl. Rhys Davids, 1899, page 108.

⁵ *Ibid*, page 144.

An inscription of about the 3rd century B.C., written in a sort of 'Māgadhi' dialect, where a Buddhist Lūpadakha records the Varuna-worship of a Brāhmaṇic Devadāsī or Buddhist Devadarśinī, opens up yet unexplored and staggering vistas of historical possibilities whose only drawback so far is a lack of sufficient confirmation !

(iii) "Devadāsī is late and non-Buddhistic but Devadarśinī is early and Buddhistic." Neither is ancient in their present import, not much difference between their earlier significations and both based on a custom which was Indian in the sense that Bāhmanas and Samānas were equally guilty of it, a custom (whether through *devadāsī* or a *devadarśinī*) strongly denounced by the Buddha, referring both to his own Order and others. cf. the Brahma-jāta Sutta, 15—16. "Whereas some recluses and Brāhmaṇas earn their living by wrong means of livelihood, by low arts, such as—(15) 'Obtaining oracular answers from a god' *deva-pañho*,¹ obtained through a girl, (unlike *Kumārī-pañho*,² through a girl of good family and repute) but a *deva-dāsī* or temple prostitute."² Rhys Davids is evidently thinking of the mediæval and modern *devadāsīs* when he suggests "prostitutes". The text says *deva-pañho*. It testifies to the 6th century B.C. Indian belief in communicating with gods through the medium of a woman. Nothing is either asserted or insinuated against the chastity of the latter. This belief in temporary incarnation or inspiration is very ancient and world-wide. Certain persons are supposed to be possessed from time to time by a spirit or deity,³ in some places oftener a woman than a man.⁴ Religious institutions are particularly susceptible to these superstitions and none, not excluding Christianity (cf. the case of the Bohemian woman Wilhelmina⁵ supposed by herself and many besides to be possessed by the

¹ Dialogues of the Buddha, op. cit. p. 24.

² Ibid.

³ Frazer, The Golden Bough ; The Magic Art, Vol. I. 1913, p. 377.

⁴ Ibid. p. 384.

⁵ Ibid. pp. 407-8.

Holy Ghost so late as 1281 A.D.) has been free from it. In Greece, the Pythian priestess at Delphi occupied an honoured and sacred position, her prophetic inspiration on the tripod deciding questions of peace and war. After Philomelus' success against the Lokrians, the Thebans wanted to fight against him "to assist the God."¹ In India the *Devadāsī* had no official position with the Brāhmaṇas and was looked down upon by the Buddha—"Gotama the recluse holds aloof from such low arts." But it cannot be contended that she was unknown to the Buddhists. The Buddha distinctly differentiates between her employers as (1) *Bamhaṇa* and (2) some recluses (*Samaṇas*). Who are these recluses—not the Jains who are called the *Nigaṇṭhas*.² They belong to the Order of the Buddha who calls himself "Gotama the recluse (*samaṇa*)".³ About the origin of the name *devadāsī*, it may be suggested that they were female servants of monasteries (also of temples) sometimes utilized as mediums by erring Brothers or Sisters or lay devotees. The Buddha knew of such practices and discouraged them with perhaps indifferent success due to age-long habits of the mass who supplied most of his following.

(iv) "Why Varuṇaseva, the description of the man's faith given without his proper name?" It is neither exceptional, nor improper. The terms Buddhists and Jains in contrast to Brāhmaṇas are modern. At first they distinguished themselves as *Bamhaṇas*, *Sākaputtiya* *Samaṇas* and *Nigaṇṭhas*. All these again were further subdivided into groups according to some distinct characteristics. Thus the *Aṅguttara* mentions 10 Orders, contemporaries of Buddha. 6—10 are described by Buddhaghosa as non-Buddhist.⁴ No. 10 are the *Devadharmikā*. "Those who follow the religion of the god." What God? Is it Sakka, i.e. Indra? Varuṇa and Indra are intimately connected

¹ Grote, History of Greece, Ed. J. Murray, 1907, Vol. IX, p. 247.

² Buddhist India, op. cit. page 143.

³ Dialogues, op. cit. page 24.

⁴ Ibid, page 221.

in the Brāhmanical mythology. Such names came to have the special meaning of the member of one school, or order, only, as different from the others, and their designation as such was sufficient to indicate the person or persons referred to. That Varunaseva was no solitary exception may be presumed from "The worshipper of Siva" expressly mentioned in the *Milinda*, page 191.

II.—Sanskrit Lexicography.

II.

By Professor R. Sarma, M. A., Sahityacharya.

In the introductory article it has been said that the Samāmnāya (Nighaṇṭavaḥ) is the first attempt in Sanskrit at a classified glossary. It was compiled by unknown hands¹ more than twenty-five centuries ago. Before Panini or about his time Yaska wrote his Nirukta in which he explained (and illustrated with Vedic quotations) words picked up at random from the Samāmnāya. The Samāmnāya is simplicity itself, being a mere collection of Vedic synonyms, homonyms and names of deities. But the Nirukta is written in a quaint, laconic style characteristic of its age. In later ages many complete commentaries were written on this ancient glossary which had a varied career up to about the twelfth century A.D. when Devarāja Yajvan, apparently a Dakṣiṇātya, claims to have recovered and reconstructed the complete text from various sources including an unbroken tradition existing in his own family. He has left a running commentary on the complete text, touching every word in it and trying to illustrate its use by citation from the Vedic (and rarely from the Brahmanic texts). The date of Devarāja is not definitely known. But as indicated above it may be presumed to be about the twelfth century A.D. for he does not know Śāyana, the well-known mediæval commentator on the Vedas who flourished towards the end of the thirteenth century and

¹ The controversy whether the author of the Nirukta is identical with that of the Samāmnāya is, I think, settled once for all by Bhagavadddurgāchārya, the commentator of the Nirukta who says—एतस्मिन्मन्त्रे अकूपारस्य दावने

इत्ययमनयोः पदयोरनुक्रमः समाम्नाये पुनः दावने अकूपारस्य इति ।
तेन द्वावतेऽन्यैरेवायमृषिभिः समाम्नायः समाम्नातः अन्यपवचायं
भाष्यकार इति । Nirukta As. So. Ed. page 436.

mentions Bhoja and Uvvata who wrote his Yajurvedabhashya under Bhoja in the eleventh century.

The details of the carer of the text is given by Devarāja in the introduction to his commentary on the Samāmnāya and some valuable information about the subject is given also by Dr. Lakshman Swarup in his Thesis on the Nirukta and the curious reader is referred to these if he wants enlightenment on the matter. In the present article it is proposed to deal with the text as finally fixed by Devarāja and preserved in a versified form by Bhāskararāja, an author of the eighteenth century. Bhāskararāja's little book ¹ Vaidika Nighaṇṭu is very rare. It is not mentioned by Anfrecht and although recently published by Godbole is today absolutely out of print. Fortunately I happen to possess a manuscript copy of it and some of my post-graduate students have copied it for their own use and thus we have more than one copy of it now. Many an obscure point, especially in the Naigamakānda, is concisely elucidated in this booklet.

The Samāmnāya is divided into five chapters. The first three of these comprise the Naighantukakānda (section on synonyms), the fourth is called the Naigamakānda (section on homonyms) and the fifth is called the Daivatakānda (section on the deities, i. e. gods and their wives, etc.)

¹ Dr. L. Swarup who came to Patna last year said to me that he was not aware of its existence.

Table of Contents of the Samamnyaya.

Adhyāya 1 (the world).	Adhyāya 2 (Man and his limbs etc.).	Adhyāya 3 (Qualities etc).	Adhyāya 4.	Adhyāya 5.
1. Earth 21 Names.	1 Action 26 Names.	1 Many 12 Names.	62+84+132 Vedic	3+13+36
2. Gold 15 "	2 Child 15 "	2 Short 11 "	words, mostly	+ 32+36
3. Heaven 16 "	3 Man 25 "	3 Big 25 "	homonyms, some	+ 31 words
4. Common to sun and heaven 6 "	4 Arm 12 "	4 House 22 "	for single ideas.	mostly proper names of deities.
5. Rays 15 "	5 Finger 22 "	5 To serve 10 "		
6. Quarters 8 "	6 To wish 18 "	6 Happiness 20 "		
7. Night 23 "	7 Food 28 "	7 Form 16 "		
8. Dawn 16 "	8 To eat 10 "	8 Good 10 "		
9. Day 12 "	9 Strength 28 "	9 Intellect 11 "		
10. Cloud 30 "	10 Wealth 28 "	10 Time 6 "		
11. Speech 57 "	11 Cow 9 "	11 To see 8 "		
12. Water 101 "	12 To be angry 10 "	12 Interjec- tions 9 "		
13. River 37 "	13 Anger 11 "	13 Simile words 12 "		
14. Horse 26 "	14 To go 122 "	14 To worship 40 "		
15. Draught- beasts of gods 10 "	15 Soon 26 "	15 Wise man 24 "		
16. To shine 11 "	16 Near 11 "	16 Worshipper 13 "		
17. Shining 11 "	17 War 46 "	17 Sacrifice "		
	18 To reach 10 "	18 Priest 8 "		
	19 To kill 33 "	19 To beg 17 "		
	20 Thunder- bolt 18 "	20 To give 10 "		
	21 To be lord of 4 "	21 Humble prayer 4 "		
	22 Lord 4 "	22 To sleep 2 "		
		23 Well or reservoir 14 "		
		24 Thief 14 "		
		25 Decided or private 6 "		
		26 Distant 5 "		
		27 Old 6 "		
		28 New 6 "		
		29 Very near 2 "		
		30 Little 2 "		
		31 Unobtained ¹ 2 "		
		32 Half 2 "		
		33 Star 2 "		
		34 Ant 2 "		
		35 Grain basket 2 "		
		36 Stick 2 "		
		37 Woman 2 "		
		38 By this 2 "		
		39 Penis 2 "		
		40 To wait upon 2 "		
		41 To fear or tremble ² 2 "		
		42 Heaven and earth 24 "		

¹ or obtained.² Samāśramin mentions 29—41 as Divā names! दिवः in the text by couples.

The characterisitic merit of a Sanskrit vocabulary is that the names are mostly significant. In other languages synonyms are rare and the single word for an idea is often without any grammatical connotation so to say. It merely denotes a thing, e. g. earth, water, sky, etc. etc., in the English language. But in Sanskrit even simple words like पृथ्वी, जलम्, आकाशम् have a rational etymological explanation. पृथ्वी means the vast one, जलम् the cold substance, आकाशम् the luminous expanse. If we take into account the various synonyms of a word (and almost every word has a large or small number of these) we can recover all that was in the minds of the speakers about the particular substance (or action, etc.) indicated by the word. These ideas have of course not been always the same. The Vedic people had, for example, notions about the earth or water or the sky which all do not occur to the classical or mediæval thinker, while others which did not occur to the Vedic people are prominent in later stages of human thought. A brief study of the Vedic vocabulary from this standpoint is the chief object of this article.

Expansion (गौः,¹ रमा, गातुः पृथ्वी, महौ, उर्वौ), residence (क्षमा, क्षितिः), stability (अदितिः, निर्वृतिः) 'gift of food (पूषा) and besmearing (रिपः) are the predominant Vedic ideas about the earth. The word गोत्रा contains either the notion of expanse like गौः or may refer to nourishment of cattle. भूः and भूमिः indicate self-existence.

Gold is attractive (हेम, अयः, द्विरण्यम्),² shining (चन्द्रम्, रम्, कनकम्), red (लोहम्³), indestructible (अमृतम्), malleable and fit to be drawn in a fine wire (पेशः⁴ कृशनम्),

¹ गौः is explained as दूरं गता भवति by the author of the Nirukta. This would ordinarily lead one to think that the Vedic people were aware of the earth's rotation and revolution round the sun. But this is somewhat doubtful. Skandavamin explains दूरं गता as दूरं गता भवति नैरन्त्यषाकाशादिवद्दूरं गतिः. So दूरंगता—found even at a distance

² इ to move, to impress and हृ to charm.

³ Connected with लोहितम्, रोहितम्.

⁴ पेशः form, formation.

fresh in colour (काञ्चनम्) and possibly (हिरण्यम् also), ornamental (भर्म, ¹ जातरूपम्) and leads to robbery and death (मरुत्). It is also a thing for gift दत्तम्.

The sky pervades and covers (अम्बरम्, वियत्, व्योम बहिः), is a vast expanse (धन्व, पुष्करम्, पृथिवी, अध्वरम् अध्वा), shines and is seen in space (आकाशम्, अन्तरिक्षम्), is watery (आपः, समुद्रः, सगरः) and is self-existent (भूः, स्वयम्भूः). अध्वरम् ² and अध्वा probably indicate indestructibility as well.

Rays (of the sun) are enervating (खेदयः), are scattered and far-reaching, are stringlike (अमोशवः, रश्मयः), bear up and hold (दौधितयः, गभस्त्वयः ³), cover the sky (उस्राः वसवः), repel the stars ⁴ (मयूखाः), shew mirage (मरौचिपाः), are winged (सुपर्णाः) and people bask in them (साध्याः ⁵).

The quarters of the horizon are pervading and moving away (आताः, आशाः, व्योम). They are rocky and wooden in appearance (उपराः, काष्ठाः). They absorb and take everything away (ककुभः, ⁶ हरितः).

But after the earth, the night is a thing of interest to the Rshis. They describe the phenomenon as dark, absorbent, destructive, unctuous and wavy (श्यावौ, असिक्ती, तमः, तमस्वती, क्षपा, शर्वरी, शिरिणा, अक्षुः, नक्ता, ऊर्म्या). It is watery, showery and dewy (पयः, पयस्वती, मोकी, उधः, घृताची, हिमा). It colours everything (रजः). It is twin with the day (याम्या, यम्या). It is reposing and one gives way and rests under it (राम्या, नम्या). It is deceitful (दोषा). Warmth of the hearth and home and light of faggot is another idea associated with the night and it is called शोको. ⁸ It covers everything (वस्वो ⁹).

¹ भू to bear.

⁴ मि to throw off.

² ध्वर् to perish.

⁵ साध् to serve.

³ ग्रह् to catch.

⁶ Connected with कुम्भ कुम्भक etc.

⁷ उन्द् to moisten (e.g. उदकम्)

⁸ The idea of light and heat is kept up in the classical विभावरी for night. In the Vedas विभावरी is applied not to the night but to the dawn, vide infra.

⁹ वस् आच्छादने (e.g. वसु, वासरम् etc.)

Between night and day is the beautiful scene of the dawn welcomed and sung of in the most beautiful hymns by the Vedic Rshis. The dewy (ओदती) ruddy (अरुणी) dawn is luminous (विभावरी, द्योतना, श्वेत्या, अर्जुनी, भास्वती). It is full of sweet melodies of birds (सुनरो, सूनुता, सूनुतावती, सुनुतावरी, सुनुतावरी). Food of all kinds appear in plenty as the dawn comes to the happy Rshis not yet conscious of famine in the literally golden age and so they term it चित्रामघा वाजिनो, वाजिनीवती. The dawn is eternal, ever fresh (अहना).

The day is comparatively prosaic. It spreads itself (स्वसरम्) and covers the sky (वासरम्, वस्तोः). It is of course hominous and hot (द्यौः, भानुः, दिनम्, व्रंसः, धर्मः).

To the Vedic observer a cloud is again a phenomenon of much interest. But it has not yet the fascinating freshness so charming to the happy lover and calling forth sighs from the unhappy traveller of the classical poetry. It is to the Rshi a satanic, enveloping, demoniacal appearance, a rocky mountain in form (अद्रिः, ग्राधा, गोत्रः, अश्रः, अश्रम, पर्वतः, गिरिः, उपरः, उपलः, अश्रम) and a giant in energy, indestructible, lofty and allcovering (असुरः, अहिः, रौहिषः, शम्बरः, वृत्रः, वलिशानः, वराहः, वलाहकः). It is a water-bag, a sack, a treasurehouse, rich, fruitful, moistening and moving (द्वृतिः, कोशः, फलिगः, रैवतः, ओदनः, मेघः, वृषान्धः). It feeds on or absorbs water (चमसः, पुरुभोजाः). In short in its milder aspect of a shower-agency it is a मेघः and in the darker function is a वृत्रः and असुरः, the last word implying thunder lightning and storm that hurl off everything coming in the way. Sometimes the cloud is thought of as a niggardly barbarian disinclined to release the water-treasure that it possesses.

¹ Cf. अहल्या (न हन्यते अहल्या) the allegorical dawn-lady loved by the sun-god (Indra).

² घृ to shine.

³ उन्द to moisten.

⁴ मिह् to sprinkle, to make water.

⁵ अस् to throw, also to shine, etc.

III.—Contributions to the History of Mithila.

By K. P. Jayaswal, Esq., M.A., Barrister-at-law.

§ 1. King Nanyadeva of Mithila and an Inscription of his Time (with plate).

Nānyadeva is the founder of the famous Kārṇāṭa
dynasty of Mithilā. To modern
writers it is known as the Simraon
dynasty after their capital at Simraongadh in Champaran.
The official name of the dynasty, however, as evidenced by
contemporary records was Kārṇāṭa¹ after the place of
their origin.² Mithilā flourished under the Kārṇāṭas for two
centuries and a quarter until it became a province of the
Delhi Empire. Mithila became the eastern centre of Hindu
philosophy, law and literature under the dynasty. It was the
last Hindu kingdom in the Gangetic valley, to end in 1324 A.D.

Nanyadeva lived in an era of kingdom-building. The
Emperor Kārṇa, the Hindu Napo-
leon of the eleventh century, abdicated
and his son Yaśaḥ-Kārṇa came on the Chedi throne
in 1073 A.D.³ Since Gāṅgeyadeva the Chedi sovereigns
from Tripuri (near Jabalpur in the Central Provinces) had
ruled over Mithilā for about a century. The Pālas had an
undivided rule over Bengal and Bihar (excluding Mithilā). The
Chedi empire had Benares as the favourite second capital and
included probably Allahabad. Within two decades of Karna's
abdication we find four states springing up into being—the

¹ Ministers who served under the dynasty (e.g. Chandesvara in his Kṛitya R.,)
a dramatist of the Court (J.A.S.B. 1915, 411), Royal inscriptions of Nepal (I.A.,
1880, 188) all refer to the dynasty by that name. See also J.A.S.B., 1915, 408.

² See below.

³ E. I., XII. 206 (Khairha plate ed. by R. B. Hira Lal).

Gaṅga kingdom of Orissa under Choḍa-Gaṅga, the Sena kingdom in Bengal under Vijaya Sena (a Kārṇāta), the Gāhaḍavāla kingdom of Kanauj-Benares under Śrī-Chandra-deva (Gāhaḍavāla and the kingdom of Mithilā under Nānyadeva (a Kārṇāta). The last one was a tiny thing, hemmed in between four states—Nepal, Bengal, the Pāla kingdom of Southern Bihar, and Kanauj-Kāśī,

Personality of Nānya.

and threatend by the old sovereign of Mithilā the Chedi king of Tripuri whose dominions reached right up to south-west Bihar and Benares. Yet Nānyadeva successfully maintained his position and the individuality of Mithilā. He must have done so mostly by dint of his diplomacy ; yet at times he had to fight and he rose equal to the occasion. Yaśaḥ-Karṇa, the son and successor of Karṇa, a good soldier, inspite of the Gāhaḍavāla barrier of Benares reached Champaran and is said to have devastated it according to an inscription of his family.¹ He would have devastated Champaran only when it had ceased to be part of his own kingdom, when it had already passed to Nānyadeva. The use of the term “devastated” means that he could not conquer Champaran back and the attempt was only a raid. And it was in Champaran that Nānyadeva had established the seat of the Mithilā State. The Sena kingdom though presided over by a Kārṇāta was not friendly to Nānya, for Vijaya Sena waged war against him and his Deopara inscription claims to have defeated “Nānya” who considered himself a “hero” (E. I., I. 309: Śūram-manyā). In any case the result was not such as to mean subordination. Nānya crushed the northern neighbour—he conquered Nepal. He built a very expensive capital at Simraon and fortified it in a remarkable manner² just below the Nepal Hills.

The personality of Nānyadeva having impressed me, I have been wondering at our not having discovered any contemporary

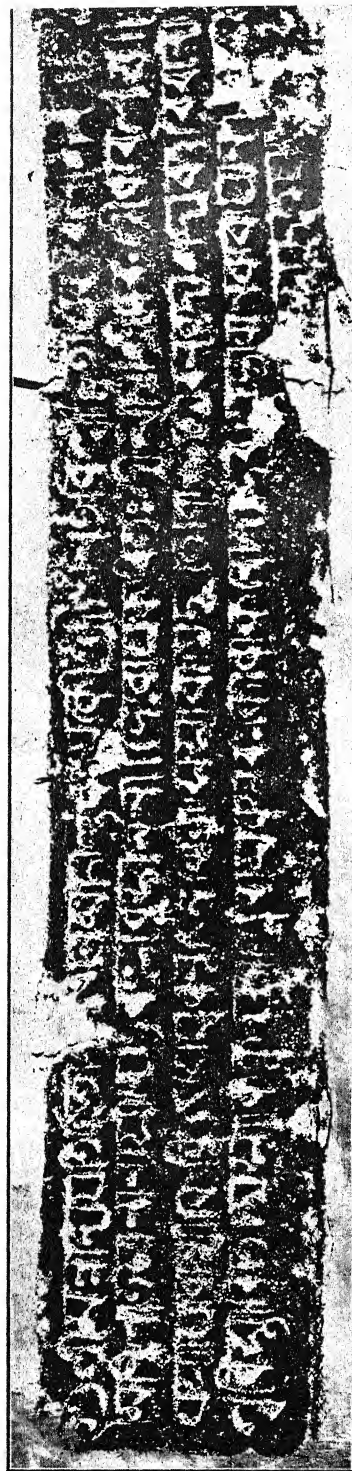
¹ E. I., II. 11 (Bheraṅghat isc. of Alhaṇadevī).

² Cunningham, A.S.R. XVI. 3; O'Malley, p. 173. It is presumed that founder would have planned the extraordinary fortifications (see below § 5 on Simraon).

record of this able prince. I had instructed the Pandit of the Society carrying on the search for manuscripts in Mithilā to inform me if he heard of any inscription in the district of Darbhanga or Muzaffarpur. Although I have always held that we should look for such records in the unexplored ruins of the fortress and town of Simraon, yet it is reasonable to hope that Mithilā proper may also give us some materials. That hope has been justified in this instance. The Pandit reported an inscription at Andharā-Thāṛhi, a village in the Madhubani subdivision of Darbhanga, twelve miles from the railway station Jhanjharpur. I arranged to depute a man from the Patna Museum through the courtesy of the Curator, and obtained the impression which has been reproduced here, both obverse and reverse, original size. The inscription is on a pedestal having only a remnant of the feet of the original statue in black stone. It is placed in a hut amongst other broken images. The hut stands on the ruins of the original stone temple. There is a filled-up tank in front of the ruins. The stone is the usual black material worked upon by the sculptors of the Pāla period. The same stone lined the tank in front. The place is known at present as the "Kamalāditya temple." Remains of an old town are believed to be represented by the mounds near about the temple remains. The Patna Museum ought to acquire the relic.

The inscription was inscribed on the pedestal of an image of Vishṇu designated here as *Śrīdhara* established by Śrīdhara the Minister of King Nānya. Śrīdhara the Minister was a Kāyastha by caste according to the tradition still current in Mithilā and recorded by Mr. O'Malley.¹ According to the local tradition Śrīdhara was the Prime Minister of Gāṅga-deva the next king.¹ Probably he served under both Nānya and his

¹ District Gazetteer of Darbhanga (1907), p. 16—writing about Gāṅga-deva the son and successor of Nānya-deva, Mr. O'Malley says:—"Local legend states that this king had a citadel at Laherā Rājā and that the two large tanks



J. B. O. R. S., 1923.

ANDHARĀ-THĀRHĪ INSCRIPTION OF THE REIGN OF NĀNYA-DEVA.

K. P. J.

Photo-engraved & printed at the Offices of the Survey of India, Calcutta, 1923.

son. Evidently the minister had his home near the site of the inscription as his descendants are believed to be in a neighbouring village.

The inscription indicates that Bāṇa the poet had very probably written a work on some Vishṇuite manifestation.

The orthography may be compared with that of the Deopara inscription (ṇ, n, m) and Bhimadeva's (k, ch, bh, b) d is peculiar, s and ś retain archaic forms; y and a are precursors of later forms.

Three letters in the first line are gone off with a breakage. The fourth line is partially obliterated; the *pāda* evidently was carried down and completed in the next line in the right hand corner which is nearly unreadable. The metres of the verses and grammatical and clerical mistakes are indicated below the text in footnotes. Anusvāras have been omitted.

Śrīdhara the minister has been described as the sun for the lotus of the Kshattria-family, that is, his master's family. Evidently Nānyadeva, who as his Canarese name N a n n i y a indicates was Carnatic by origin, ¹ was treated by his contemporaries as Kshattriya. Nānya the lord has been described as the Victor (*Jetā*), as the ocean of something (obliterated). By his fame he is said to have turned the world into a second *Kṣhīra-sāgara*. It seems that to introduce the god Viṣṇu (Śrīdhara) this conceit is resorted to.

Text of the Inscription

(1st line) | Om, ² Śrīmān-Nānya-patir-jjettā . . . tna (?)

-mahārṇavaḥ |

Yat-kīrttyā janitāṃ viśvaṃ | dvitīya-kṣhīra-sāgara ³

Gangā Sāgr near Darbhanga railway station and another at Andhra Thārhi in the north-east of Madhubani, were excavated during his reign. At the latter place he is said to have built a fort, and the villagers of Bairiya some two miles to the east, claim to be the descendants of his Prime Minister Sridhar Kayasth."

¹ See below.

² Anushtub metre.

³ Read *Sāgarāḥ*.

(2nd line) Mantrinā tasya Nānyasya | kshattra-vaṃ-
śabja-bhānūnā |

devoya¹ kārītaḥ śrīmān | Śrīdharāḥ Śrīdhareṇa cha |

(3rd line) yasyāya² | Vālmīker vijayi-prabandha-
jaladhau (,) |

Vyāsasya chātyadbhūte | Vā(nā)dyai-ranavadya-
gadya-chaturair-anyaī

(4th line) śoḥa vistārite | asmākaṃ kva punar-ggirāmava-
saraḥ ko vā karotyādara³ | Yadvā bāla-vacho pya. . .

(5th line)⁴

In giving the date of the inscription I append the following note on the date and times of Nānya which I have prepared after considering available materials and which may help scholars in reviewing the political history of the period.

§ 2.—Date of Nanyadeva and his Times.

In Mithilā the date of the commencement of the reign of Nānyadeva is preserved in a memorial verse which has been given by the late Paṇḍitaḥ Chanda Jhā in his edition⁵ of the Purushaparīkṣhā of Vidyāpati (page 19).

Date. नन्देन्दु-विन्दु-विद्यु-सम्मित-शाकवर्षे,
तच्छ्रावणे सितदले मुनिसिद्ध-तिथ्याम् ।
स्वाती-शनैश्चरद्युते करि-वैरिहस्रे,
तन्नान्यदेवनृपतिर्विधीत वास्तुम् ॥

that is, "in the Śāka year 1019 (= 1097 A. D.)
on Saturday the 7th of Śrāvaṇa Sudi,

¹ Read *devoyam*.

² Read *yasyāyam*. The next verse is in Sārdūlavik.

³ Read *ram*.

⁴ Four letters two of which are readable, they give no meaning. Originally there were probably five letters in this line.

Ed. Darbhanga, S. 1810.

in the Svātī Nakshatra King Nānya-deva took the land." In the Nepal *Vamśāvalis* the date has been missed owing to the reading of the first line becoming corrupt as 901 [Kirkpatrick] and 811 (a secondary misreading for 911) [Bhagawan Lal Indrajī].¹ The primary mistake arose by reading from left to right instead of doing it from right to left as required in reading figures put in equivalents (*Aṅkānām vāmatogatikā*). The result for the Nepal *Vamśāvalis* has been disastrous, for their dates, for periods before Nānya-deva and after him up to Harisimha Deva became ante-dated by centuries. Fortunately the date of Harisimha is correctly given by them (1324) and the period intervening is also correctly recorded, i.e. 226 (219 years assigned to the rule of the Thakuris in Nepal and 7 years of anarchy, i.e. 226) which brings us nearly to the correct date (1324=226=1098 A.D.). The period of 226 agrees with the Maithila datum of 226 for the interval between Nānya's accession and the invasion of Nepal by Harisimha-deva. It is evident that the date-memorial is a Maithila datum adopted by Nepal. The correct date is again recorded (*Narendu-kha-chandra-yukte Śāke*) in one Nepal document, namely the drama *Muditakuvalayāśva* composed in 1628 A.C. by Jagajjyotirmalla, king of Bhatgaon who claims to be a descendant of Harisimha-deva. It corresponds to the 18th July 1097, which is verified to have been a Saturday and in the Svātī Nakshatra.² It is supported by the Maithila datum pointed out above and the known historical facts of the time.³

¹ २ इन्दुश्च सोम-वसु-सम्मित-शक्रवर्षे,

तच्छ्रावणस्यधवले मुनितिथ्यधस्तात् ।

स्वातौ शनैश्चरदिने रिपुमर्ददशे,

श्रीनान्यदेवनृपतिर्विदधीत राज्यम् ॥

Lévi, *Le Nepal*, II. 194.

² Ibid., 198-99.

³ The late Rai Bahadur Monmohan Chakravarti, *History of Mithila during the pre-Koghal Period*, J.A.S.B., 1915, 409, regarded the date as unreliable

The Carnatic origin of Nānyadeva is borne out by the name itself. *Nānya* is not a Sanskrit word but a Sanskritised form of a word of Dravidian origin. *Nanniya* in Canarese means "affectionate", "true"; a prince of Kārṇāṭaka, Prince Gaṅga, is called *Nanniya Gaṅga* in an inscription of the tenth century A. C.¹ The Kārṇāṭakas appear in Eastern India about 1020 A. C. in the reign of Mahipāla. Rajendra Chola I. invaded the North and reached the Ganges and Bengal from the South (E.I., III. 323). He could not cross the Ganges. The *Chanda-Kausika* was staged before King Mahipāla and in a manuscript of the drama copied in 1331 A. C. Mahipāla² is described to have defeated the Kārṇāṭakas. Some of the Kārṇāṭakas settled down in Bengal. They appear in the soldiery of Nārāyaṇa-Pāla three reigns after Dharma-Pāla.³ Another Kārṇāṭaka family out of which arose the Senas of Bengal, the contemporary of the Kārṇāṭaka dynasty of Mithilā had been living in Rādhā for over two generations before Vijaya-Sena and therefore Nānya.⁴ The Kārṇāṭa settler out of whom the Simraon dynasty arose was either a remnant of the Rajendra Chola's army as Mr. R. D. Banerji thinks (P.B. page 99) or more likely a remnant of the Kārṇāṭa allies of Kārṇa the Chedi king, son of Gaṅgeya-deva and sovereign of Mithilā who overran nearly the whole of India about 1040—60 A.C.

The Kārṇāṭas according to the Nagpur prasasti of Udayāditya of Malava had allied themselves with Kārṇa and with

because it was traditional and because there was another traditional date. The right course was to try to find out which of the two was correct, not to reject both and give an approximate date fluctuating within a century or half which does not leave us wiser. We should not be fanatics against tradition. A similar method is employed by Mr. Pargiter in considering the exact date given by the Purāṇas for the Mahābhārata War. He rejects them all because they do not agree with each other and because they do not answer his averages of reigns. (*Historical Tradition in the Purāṇas*).

¹ Sylvain Lévi, *Nepal*, II. 201; E. I., III. 183.

² Mahanahopādhyāya Haraprasada Shastri, J.A.S.B., LXII., 1903, p. 250; R. D. Banerji, *The Pālas of Bengal*, p. 73.

³ Bhagalpur Plate, I.A., XV. 306.

⁴ P. B. 99.

him overran Malava like a sea.¹ Mithilā had already belonged to the Chedi sovereign, for Karna's father Gaṅgeyadeva (the Vikramāditya) is described as ruling over Tirabhutti (Tirhut) in a manuscript dated 1076 Vikrama=1019 A.C.² It seems that the Kārṇāṭa family of Nānya probably came in Mithilā in train of Karna's movements.

Vijaya-Sena, a Kārṇāṭa, founded his family in Bengal about 1080 A.C. This event seems to

His times. have given momentum to the Kārṇāṭaka of Tirhut. In or about 1097 A.C. Nānyadeva established his rule over Mithilā and shortly after also over Nepal. This was a time, as observed above, of the rise of new dynasties. A contemporary of Nānyadeva and Vijaya-Sena, Chandradeva Gāhaḍavāla had just taken the ancient capital of Kanauj (cir. 1090)³ and carved out a kingdom destined to be the first power in the near future. The dominating power, the Kalachuri of Chedi, had been broken. The great conqueror Karna retired from the political stage in 1073 after having been assailed in return by every kingdom and defeated.⁴ Even the Pala king of Bengal (Vigraha Pala III) whose power had been on the decline defeated him (cir. 1060)⁵ and married his daughter. We may take it that the Chedi power over outlying provinces was weakened about 1073. As expressly stated in the Basahi grant,⁶ it was after the death of Karna that Chandradeva acquired "the empire of Kanauj." On epigraphic evidence Delhi, Benares and Ajodhya formed part of the Kanauj kingdom in (probably also before) 1097 under Chandradeva⁷ who died after being in Benares in 1097.⁸ The time that seems to have

¹ E. I., Vol. II, 185 (P.B., p. 76) येनोद्धृत्य महारथवीपस-मिश्रकर्षा-

कर्ष प्रभुं ***** भुवांसिमां

² Bendall, J.A.S.B., 1903, 18. See below.

³ Madana-pāladeva, his son, gives a document of title to a Brahmin at Benares for land granted by his father Chandradeva in 1097. I.A. XVIII. 11.

⁴ E. I. XII. 208; P.B., 79, 80.

⁵ P.B., 79, 80.

⁶ I. A. XIV. 101-4.

⁷ I. A. XVIII. 11.

⁸ The grant made in that year by the king had to be evidenced by a document sealed by his son. I. A. XVIII. 11.

become ripe for a new ruler in Tirhut was thus after 1078 A.C. and before 1097 A.C. Tirhut had been without a powerful ruler at the time of the foundation of the Gahadavala Kanauj kingdom; the Gahadavala march would not have stopped at Ayodhyā had a barrier not arisen in Tirhut. The opportunity had been availed of by Nānyadeva in the nick of time, i. e. in or about 1093 A.C. and the barrier was raised. 7

This date, which is given in a drama by a king of Nepal claiming to be a descendant of Nānyadeva and in fact an immediate successor of his dynasty in Nepal¹ and the memorial verse of Mithila, fully verified, is further strengthened by the history of Vijaya-Sena. The victories of the first Sena king recited in Deopara inscription² are, first, over Nānya and, next, over Gauḍa, then over Kāmarūpa and then over Kālīnga (at that time under Choḍa-Gaṅga who had founded his kingdom *cir.* 1076 A.C.³) In the struggle between Vijaya-Sena and Madana the Pāla king of Gauḍa, Chandra of Kanauj helped Madana Pāla, according to Sandhyākara Nandi a contemporary historian. Chandradeva died about 1097 as seen above.⁴ The war thus took place before or about 1097. Vijaya Sena's last recorded date is found on a copper plate—the 37th regnal year. And Vijaya Sena was the grandfather of Lakshmana Sena who came to the throne in 1119 A.C. according to the era of his name. The date 1093 for Nānya's accession thus tested turns out to be satisfactory. 7

Vidyāpati says that a son of Nānyadeva took service under Jaya-Chandra of Kanauj.⁵ Now the authority which gives the year 1093 for the beginning of Nānyadeva's

¹ Fischel, Katalog (Berlin), II. p. 8.; Lévi, *Nepal*, II. 198, 199.

² V. Smith, E. I. I., 1903, 305.

³ *Ibid.*, 428.

⁴ See also E. I., II. 360. His grandson Govinda-Chandra-deva is described as the son of the reigning king in 1104.

⁵ Purusha-parīkṣā, I. 3.

reign gives him a total reign-period of fifty years,¹ that is, up to 1143 A.C. Jaya-Chandra's accession was in 1170² and it is quite possible for a son of Nānyadeva to be a contemporary of Jaya-Chandra.³

Nānyadeva saw the struggle between Govindachandradeva (1114-54) the grandson of Chandradeva of Kanauj = Benares and Lakshmana Sena (1119) the grandson of Vijaya Sena of Bengal. The buffer state of the Palas between the Gāhaḍavāla and the Sena kingdoms having disappeared, the Gāhaḍavāla, an old ally of the Pāla family, came face to face with the rising power of the Senas. Lakshmana planted his "towers of victory" at Allahabad i. e. right in the kingdom of Govindachandra, but Govindachandra recovered and annexed Patna in or before 1126 A.C.⁴ when he was making grants of land at Maner, and even the territory up to Monghyr (1146 A.C.)⁵

Either Nānyadeva towards the close of his reign or more probably his successor (Gaṅgadeva) came under the influence of Govindachandra or his successor, very likely of Govindachandra himself. This is indicated by two facts: one is that the law book *Kalpataṛu* prepared by the foreign minister of Govindachandra at his command⁶ became the ruling authority in Mithila under the dynasty of Nānyadeva,⁷ and the second is the service of Malladeva a son of Nānyadeva in the army of Jayachandra Gāhaḍavāla. Add to these the fact of dominion over Monghyr in Govindachandra's reign. The struggle

¹ Nepal Vaimśāvalis; Lévi *Nepal*, II. 220, according to another authority, Hamilton, 36 (*Nepal*, 45). Without such a long reign the period between him and his fifth or sixth descendant Harisimha (the master of Chandēvara) whose date we know (1324 A.C.) cannot be easily accounted for.

² E. I., II. 121.

³ Mr. M. M. Chakravarti's view on the date of Nānyadeva partially based on this datum is not tenable. J.A.S.B., 1915, p. 409. The young age 16 of the Kārnāta prince in Vidyāpati is obviously an exaggeration of the storyteller to emphasise the boy's valour in battle.

⁴ J.A.S.B., 1896, I. 11; J.B.O.R.S. II. 441.

⁵ E. I. 7, 98.

⁶ MS. consulted; see also *Catalogus Catalogorum*, I. 538.

⁷ For the position of the *Kalpataṛu*, see Chandēvara, VR, last page; J.A.S.B., 1915, p. 357.

for Western Bihar between the Sena and Gāhaḍavāla houses went on. Bodha Gayā is finally seen under the influence of the Senas before the Muhammadan conquest. In 1194 A.D. the era of Lakshmaṇa Sena was used there.¹ Similarly before the fall of Jayachandra (1193) Mithilā after Nanyadeva also must have come under the Sena influence when the Lakshmaṇa Sena era became there the national reckoning.

(To be continued.)

¹Jāmbhika inscription, J.B.O.R.S. IV. 273.

IV.—Harsavardhana—A Critical Study.

By Dr. R. C. Majumdar, Dacca University.

When the study of Indology was at its infancy Harṣavardhana was one of the few figures familiar to students of Indian History. Thanks to Bāṇa's Harṣacarita and Hiuen Tsang's narrative he shone as a beacon light in the ocean of darkness that enveloped the annals of ancient India. Everything that was said about him by his court poet and overzealous pilgrim friend passed current as history, for men were in no mood to be critical about the few meagre details known to them and they were hardly in a position to assume such an attitude in the absence of a fuller knowledge of historical events. Times have changed since then, but old ideas die hard; and they are mainly responsible for our general outlook about Harṣa's reign and times at the present day.

Let us examine, for instance, the standpoint so familiar to every student of Indian history that Harṣavardhana was not only master of the whole or very nearly the whole of Northern India but also the last great emperor of Hindusthan. Not only general historians of India like Kennedy¹ and V. A. Smith² have expressed these views but they are shared even by M. Maurice L. Ettinghausen³ and Mr. K. M. Panikkar⁴ who have written special monographs on Harṣavardhana. Thus M. Ettinghausen observes :—

“ Harṣa commence dès maintenant cette lutte continuelle contre ses voisins qui, après de dures années de guerre et d'efforts incessants, lui assure la domination de l'Inde septentrionale

¹ Imperial Gazetteer, Vol. II., p. 303.

² Early History of India, 3rd edition, pp 356, 357.

³ Harṣavardhana—Empereur et Poète, Louvain, 1906.

⁴ Sri Harsha of Kalauj, Bombay, 1922.

entière et lui permet de s'y établir en conquérant " ⁵ (Harṣa now waged an incessant warfare against his neighbours which, after a few years of hard warfare and constant efforts, assured him the sovereignty of the whole of Northern India and he governed it as a conqueror.) The same scholar further remarks: "Le lourd fardeau de l'empire que Harṣa avait su s'imposer et qu'il avait supporté pendant plus de quarante ans, ne devait plus revenir sur les épaules d'un seul homme.....La mort de Harṣa laisse leur libre essor à une foule de petites dynasties locales et l'histoire de l'Inde n'offre plus d'intérêt jusqu'à l'apparition des Musulmans." ⁶ (The heavy burden of empire which Harṣa took upon himself and maintained for more than forty years was not to be borne in future by a single man.....The death of Harṣa gave free scope to a host of petty local dynasties and we cease to feel interest in the history of India till the appearance of the Musalmans.)

Mr. Panikkar observes in a similar strain:—"Harsha seems to have brought the whole of Northern India under his control." ⁷ "His empire extended at his death from Kāmarūpa on the east to Kashmir on the west, with the Himalayas as the northern and Vindhya as the southern boundary." ⁸ "After his death the country was destined never entirely to recover till the invasion and conquest of India by the followers of the Arabian prophet." ⁹

Let us first of all examine the extravagant claims put forward by the above writers on behalf of Harṣavardhana that he was the master of the whole or very nearly the whole of Northern India. We may start with V. Smith's theory as it is the most moderate, for he excludes Kāśmīr, Punjāb, Sind, Rājputānā and Kāmarūpa from the territories of Harṣa. ¹⁰

⁵ Op. Cit., p. 43.

⁶ Op. Cit., p. 59.

⁷ Op. Cit., p. 22.

⁸ Op. Cit., p. 27.

⁹ Op. Cit., p. 28.

¹⁰ Op. Cit., map facing p. 340.

Now of the remaining territories that V. Smith looked upon as belonging to Harṣa there is certainly an element of doubt about Nepāl. M. Ettinghausen admits it ¹¹ but Mr. Panikkar observes "that the kingdom of Nepal had accepted him (Harṣa) as suzerain." ¹² Mr. Panikkar admits that "there is still considerable difference of opinion among scholars" ¹³ on this point, but after carefully considering the different points of view he concludes that "Harsha era was used in Nepal and that Harsha's supremacy was recognized even in that distant and inaccessible kingdom." ¹⁴ Mr. Panikkar's view that "there is no other era but Harsha's possibly in the beginning of the seventh century" ¹⁵ is sufficiently refuted by the elaborate discussions of Sylvain Lévi which have established at least the possibility of the era being of local or Tibetan origin. ¹⁶ As to the "statement in *Harsha Charita* which implies that Harsha conquered an Himalayan territory difficult of access" ¹⁷ M. Ettinghausen has shown that this country need not be looked upon as Nepāl as most scholars have done on the authority of Bühler, but that it most probably refers to a Tukhāra country. ¹⁸ Thus the "mass of evidence" in favour of the hypothesis that Harṣavardhana conquered Nepāl is by no means "almost conclusive" as Mr. Panikkar thinks ¹⁹ and it is hardly fair at the present state of our knowledge to include Nepāl within the empire of Harṣa.

As in the case of Nepāl, there is no reason to credit Harṣavardhana with the conquest of territories east of Magadha. The first kingdom in this direction was I-lan-na-po-fa-to, identified

¹¹ Op. Cit., p. 57.

¹² Op. Cit., p. 27.

¹³ Op. Cit., p. 18.

¹⁴ Op. Cit., p. 20.

¹⁵ Op. Cit., p. 19.

¹⁶ Journal Asiatique, 1894; Juillet Aout, pp. 55 ff, Le Nepal, Vol. II, pp. 145, 152.

¹⁷ Panikkar, Op. Cit., p. 18.

¹⁸ Op. Cit., p. 47.

¹⁹ Op. Cit., p. 18.

with Monghyr district. Hiuen Tsang tells us that "lately the king of a border country deposed the ruler of this country and holds in his power the capital."²⁰ About Kie-chu-hoh-khi-lo or Ka-chu-wen(?)-kil (Kajāṅgala) which is identified with Rājmaḥal district Hiuen Tsang remarks that the country had come under a neighbouring state.²¹ This neighbouring state cannot of course refer to Harṣavardhana's empire for he is mentioned immediately after "as having built a temporary palace in this place which was burnt on his departure." Thus according to Hiuen Tsang's express statement these states were outside the limits of Harṣa's empire. It is true that he passed through the lastnamed place, and, as we know from the life of Hiuen Tsang, he proceeded as far as Kaṅgoda or Gaṅjam district in course of a military campaign.²² But these do not mean permanent conquests and Hiuen Tsang's express statements that I-lan-na-po-fa-to and Kie-chu-hoh-khi-lo were ruled by a different state and that Harṣavardhana's temporary residence at the lastnamed place, built of branches and boughs, was burnt on his departure, leave no doubt that the emperor only carried on a military raid in this direction. Vincent Smith did not include Kaṅgoda in the empire of Harṣa and there is no more reason why the other kingdoms should be looked upon as forming part of it.

Then there are other states within the limits assigned by V. Smith which were independent at the time when Hiuen Tsang visited them. Thus according to Hiuen Tsang Mo-hi-ssü-fa-lo-pu-lo, Ujjayini and Chi-ki-to or Chih-chito (Bundelkhand) were ruled over by Brahman kings;²³ Ma-ti-pu-lo or Mo-ti-pu-lo east of Thaneshwar was ruled over by a Śūdra king,²⁴ while Su-fa-la-na-kiu-ta-lo was ruled over by a woman.²⁵ Evidently

²⁰ Beal's Translation, Vol. II., p. 187.

²¹ Ibid., p. 193.

²² Beal's Life of Hiuen Tsang, p. 172.

²³ Beal's Translation, Vol. II., pp. 270, 271; Watters' Translation, Vol. II, pp. 250, 251.

²⁴ Beal's Translation, Vol. I., p. 190; Watters, Vol. I., p. 322.

²⁵ Beal, Vol. I., p. 199.

Harṣavardhana cannot be meant as the ruling king in any of these places. As regards Kapilavastu Hiuen Tsang observes : " There is no supreme ruler ; each of the towns appoints its own ruler " ²⁶ This shows that Kapilavastu was independent of the Kanauj empire. Again, two states K'ie-ch'a or K'i-T'a (Cutch ?) and 'O-nan-to-pu-lo or A-nan-t-o-pu-lo (Vādnagar) are said to be dependencies of Mālava ²⁷ which shows that Mālava and these two states formed an independent group. Similarly Valabhī and Surāshṭra formed another independent group. ²⁸

It has indeed been taken for granted that Valabhī was a feudatory state under Harṣa. But there does not seem to be adequate reason for this assumption. In a copperplate grant found at Broach we meet with the following passage : ²⁹ " Parameṣ vara-Śrī-Harṣa—devabhibhūta—Valabhipati-pati(ri)—trānopajāta...
.....Yaṣo-vitānaḥ-Śrī-Dadda, " i. e. Dadda who had acquired renown by rescuing the king of Valabhī who had been overpowered by Harṣadeva. "

Now this passage simply shows that Valabhī king was defeated by Harṣa but regained his power with the help of Dadda. The fact that he was son-in-law of Harṣa or that he attended the religious assembly of Harṣa at Prayāga proves nothing about his status. For an independent chieftain could well have married the daughter of Harṣa and a son-in-law might attend a religious assembly of his father-in-law without being his vassal, as even the king of Kāmarūpa, who was an independent potentate, did the same. Besides, the Valabhī king is described in connection with that very religious assembly as the " king of south India. " ³⁰

On the whole the available facts can hardly justify the conclusion of V. Smith that " Harsha's war with Valabhī resulted in the complete defeat of Dhruvasena (Dhruvabhata) II and the flight of that prince into the dominions of the Raja of

²⁶ Beal, Vol. II., p. 14.

²⁷ Ibid, pp. 266, 268 ; Watters, Vol. II., pp. 245, 247.

²⁸ Beal, Vol. II., pp. 226-7, 269 ; Watters, Vol. II., pp. 246, 248.

²⁹ Ind. Ant., Vol. XIII., p. 70ff.

³⁰ Beal's life of Hiuen Tsang, p. 135.

Bharoeh" and further that the Valabhi king "was compelled to sue for peace, to accept the hand of the victor's daughter, and to be content with the position of a feudatory vassal."³¹ But when V. Smith goes still further and remarks that the campaign against Valabhi which took place between 633 and 641 or 642 A.D. "may be presumed to have involved the submission of the kingdoms or countries of Ānandapura, ki-c'ha or (?) Cutch, and Soratha, or Southern Kāthiāwār, all of which in 641 A.D. were still reckoned to be dependencies of Mo-la-p'ō, or Western Malava, formerly subject to Valabhi"³², one can only put this down to a vague general notion which the late lamented scholar shared with others about the vast North Indian empire of Harṣa.

This general notion is apparently based upon the statements of Hiuen Tsang and Bāṇa, and it is therefore necessary to subject them to a critical examination. Bāṇabhaṭṭa nowhere describes the extent of Harṣa's empire but merely gives him general high-sounding epithets like the following :—*Devasya catuḥ—samudra-ādhipateḥ Sakala-raja-cakra-cūḍāmaṇi—śreṇī—sāṇa-kona-kaṣaṇa-nirmali-kṛta-carāṇa-nakha-maṇeḥ sarva—cakravartinām dhaureyasya* " " of the king of kings, the lord of the four oceans, whose toenails are burnished by the crest gems of all other monarchs, the leader of all emperors."³³ Scholars acquainted with the convention of Sanskrit literature and particularly of the Sanskrit inscriptions know the real value of such statements. Hiuen

³¹ Op. Cit., p. 340. Dharasena IV of Valabhi issued charters from the victorious camp at Broach in 648 or 649 A.D. Fleet thinks that these grants were made while Dharasena was simply residing at Broach enjoying the hospitality of Dadda II, after his defeat by Harṣavardhana. This is probably the origin of the theory that the Valabhi king fled to Broach. But the fact may also lead to another conclusion which is generally held, viz., that Broach belonged for a time at least to the Kingdom of Valabhi (Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I., part II, p. 316). But even if we hold Fleet's interpretation V. Smith's conclusion is hardly right. For according to the grant in question the Valabhi king was in Broach as late as 648 or 649 A.D. and could hardly have sued for peace and accepted the position of a vassal king when Hiuen Tsang visited him.

³² Op. Cit., p. 340.

³³ Cowell—Harṣa-Carita, p. 40.

Tsang also says in the same strain. "Proceeding eastwards he invaded the states which had refused allegiance, and waged incessant warfare, until in six years he had fought the Five Indias (according to the other reading 'had brought the Five Indias under allegiance'). Then having enlarged his territory he increased his army and reigned in peace for thirty years without raising a weapon."⁸⁴ On general grounds there is no greater reason to look upon these statements of Hiuen Tsang as literally true or even more reliable than the pompous phrases of Bāṇa. Besides, the absurdity of the claim that Harṣavardhana brought the Five Indias under allegiance may be convincingly demonstrated; for it is unanimously held that the whole of India south of the Vindhyas, as well as Kāmṛūpa, Kāśmīr, Punjāb, Sind and Rājputānā were never included within Harṣa's dominions. Hiuen Tsang's statement that Harṣa was the lord of the whole of India cannot serve as a basis of history any more than the phraseology of Bāṇa. If any historian is prepared to believe, on the basis of these stock phrases, that Harṣavardhana was the lord of India, or even of north India,—for which, however, there is no authority,—then it is difficult to deny an equal position of supremacy to his rival Śaśāṅka on the basis of the following phrase occurring in an inscription of 619 A.D. "While the Mahārājādhirāja the glorious Śaśāṅkarāja was ruling over the earth surrounded by the girdle of the waves of the water of four oceans together with islands, mountains and cities."⁸⁵ It is further to be observed that Hiuen Tsang usually remarks, with reference to dependent states, that they are subordinate to such and such a suzerain power. Thus he notes that Lan-P'O (Lampa), Na-kie-lo-ho (Nagara), Gandhāra and Fa-la-na were subject to Kapīśa; Simhapura, Wu-la-shih, Pau-nu-Ts'ō, Rāja-

⁸⁴ Watters "On Yuan Chwang, Vol. I., p. 343; Beal's translation of this passage is defective. Similar generalities also occur elsewhere in Hiuen Tsang's accounts. Thus speaking of Mahārāṣṭra he says: "At the present time Śīlāditya Mahārāja has conquered the nations from east to west and carried his arms to remote districts, but the people of this country alone have not submitted to him" (Beal's translation, Vol. II., pp. 256-57).

⁸⁵ Ep. Ind., Vol. VI., p. 146.

pura, and Takṣaśilā were dependencies of Kāśmīr ; while Mou-lo-san-pu-lu and Po-fa-to were subject to Cheh-ka. With reference to Takṣaśilā he even goes so far as to note that "the country had formerly been subject to Kapiś but now it was a dependency of Kāśmīr." His statement about some other feudatory states have already been referred to above. In view of all these it is not a little strange that Hiuen Tsang does not specifically refer to any state as dependent upon the kingdom of Harṣa. He, no doubt, calls Harṣa the lord of Five Indias, i.e. whole of India, but the looseness of such expression becomes quite apparent when we remember that he himself has referred to a number of Indian states as independent. On the whole, a perusal of Hiuen Tsang's accounts, without any prepossessions, only leads to the conclusion that, *so far at least as these accounts are concerned*, Harṣavardhana was merely the king of Kanauj. Curiously enough Ettinghausen in a way clearly admits this when he says "Pour lui, par exemple, Harṣa est spécialement roi de Thanesar et non roi de l'Inde septentrionale."³⁶ (As for him, i.e. Hiuen Tsang, for instance, Harṣa is particularly king of Thānesar and not the king of northern India) Thānesar here is evidently a slip for Kanauj for Hiuen Tsang describes Harṣavardhana as ruler of Kanauj and not of Thānesar ; but with this correction, Ettinghausen's conclusion is the only one at which a dispassionate man can arrive on a perusal of Hiuen Tsang's accounts.

There seems to be a great deal of truth in Hiuen Tsang's statement, quoted above, that Harṣa was engaged in a protracted military campaign ; for this is borne out by other evidences. As we have already referred to above, Hiuen Tsang incidentally refers to his campaign against Kongoda towards the close of his reign, and to his temporary residence at Kejangala on his return from that expedition. This is easily explained when we remember that these were precisely the territories over which his enemy Śaśāṅka ruled, and, as Bāṇabhaṭṭa expressly says, Harṣa undertook a war of vengeance against him. Similarly the course of campaign which ultimately

³⁶ Op. Cit., p. 38.

brought him into conflict with the Cālukya and Valabhi kingdoms was almost certainly caused by his hereditary enmity with the Mālava king. We read in the Aihole Inscription, that "subdued by his (i.e. Phulakeji's splendour, the Lāṭas, Mālavas and Gurjaras, became, as it were, teachers of how feudatories, subdued by force, ought to behave." ³⁷ As Dr. Kielhorn, the editor of the inscription, points out, the passage means "that the Lāṭas, Mālavas and Gurjaras, being impressed by the majesty and power of Pulakeśi had voluntarily submitted to him or sought his protection." We learn from Harṣa-Carita that the Lāṭas, Mālavas and Gurjaras were enemies of Prabhākaravardhana; that the king of Mālava killed Grahavarman, imprisoned Rajyajri and even intended to attack Thānesar immediately after the death of Prabhākaravardhana; and that it was in course of his campaign against the Mālava king that Rajyavardhana was killed by Śaśāṅka. ³⁸ It seems therefore very probable that in his attempt to chastise the king of Mālava, Harṣavardhana found himself confronted by a hostile confederacy of powers in and round the Gujarāt peninsula. Harṣa probably scored some successes at first, for, as referred to above, the king of Valabhi had to seek the protection of the Gurjara king of Boroach against him. But the confederacy soon secured the alliance of the great Cālukya king Pulakeśi II and Harṣa's discomfiture was complete. Thus Harṣa's campaigns in the east and south-west were acts of necessity forced upon him by circumstances which prevailed at the time of his accession. The small state of Thānesar was almost encircled by hosts of enemies at the time when Harṣa's father died. Besides the states mentioned above which pressed him from east and south, and which almost threatened the very existence of Thānesar as an independent state, Harṣa had probably to reckon with the Hūṇas in the north and the kingdom of Gāndhāra on the west. ³⁹ For Prabhākaravar-

³⁷ Ep. Ind., Vol. VI., p. 10 and footnote (5).

³⁸ Cowell's translation of Harṣa-Carita, pp. 101, 173.

³⁹ Ibid, p. 101.

dhana was at war with them and at the very moment of his death his elder son was fighting against the Hūnas.⁴⁰

The small state of Thānesar was thus passing through a grave crisis when Harṣa ascended the throne and it reflects no small credit upon the youthful emperor that he bravely faced the perils and almost singlehanded—for, so far as we know, the king of Kāmarūpa was his only ally—fought with the greatest potentates of India. His military genius not only saved his kingdom from impending ruin but also enlarged its extent, and this sufficiently explains the reputation of his valour to which Hiuen Tsang bears eloquent testimony. Read in the above light the following statement of Hiuen Tsang already quoted above with a variant reading, will not appear wide of the mark: "Proceeding eastwards he invaded the states which had refused allegiance, and waged incessant warfare until he had fought the Five Indias. Then having enlarged his territory he increased his army and reigned for thirty years without raising a weapon."

Harṣavardhana no doubt increased his territory but it is difficult to determine the exact boundaries of his kingdom. We know from Harṣa-Carita that his ancestral kingdom comprised the Thanesar district and its neighbourhood, including the valley of the Saraswatī river. The accounts of Hiuen Tsang leave no doubt that he ruled over Kanauj. The Banskhera plate⁴¹ and Madhuban copperplate⁴² record grants of land respectively in the Ahichhatra and Śrāvastī *Bhuktis*. The way in which Hiuen Tsang describes the ceremonies at Prayāga seems to show that it was within the dominions of Harṣa. Thus his territory comprised the districts roughly corresponding to the present United Provinces of Agra and Oudh with a small proportion of the eastern Punjab. The coins attributed to him and to his father were also found within this area.

⁴⁰ Cowell's Harṣa, p. 132.

⁴¹ Ep. Ind., Vol., IV., p. 208.

⁴² Ibid, Vol. VII., p. 155.

So far, we are on tolerably certain grounds. But it is probable that Harṣa also ruled over Magadha, for the Chinese documents connected with his embassy to that country seem to style him "king of Magadha".⁴³ According to this view Harṣa's dominions were bounded by the Himalayas, the western Punjab, Rajputānā, Central India and Bengal.

This conclusion seems also to follow from Hiuen Tsang's accounts. The pilgrim first of all describes the three kingdoms of Kapiśa, Kāśmīr and Cheh-ka (Punjab) each of which extended its sway over minor countries in the neighbourhood. But he states nothing about the status, or even refers to the sovereigns, of any state from Chi-na-p'uh-ti to Magadha with the exception of Kanauj, P'o-li-ye-ta-lo, Mo-ti-pu-lo, the kingdom of the women, Kapilavastu and Nepal, the second, fourth, fifth and sixth of these kingdoms being *just outside* the boundary we have indicated above. If we construe the silence of Hiuen Tsang regarding the rest as an indication that these states were under the kingdom of Kanauj, the area indicated would closely correspond with the deductions made above regarding the extent of Harṣa's kingdom, with the sole exception of Mo-ti-pu-lo which lay in its north-western extremity. This view is strengthened by the fact that while Hiuen Tsang is thus silent regarding the status of states within the area indicated, he refers to the sovereigns of *all the countries that surrounded it*, viz., Cheh-ka in the west, Ku-cha-lo in the south-west, P'o-li-ye-ta-lo, Mo-hi-shi-fa-lo-pu-lo (Mahesvarapura?), Chih-chi-to (Bundelkhand) and Mahā-Kośala in the south, I-lan-na-po-fa-to in the east, Nepāla in the north-east and Kapilavastu and the kingdom of women in the north.⁴⁴ Thus Hiuen Tsang's testimony, both in its positive and negative aspects, harmonises with the epigraphic and literary evidence and Harṣavardhana's kingdom [may be approximately defined as consisting of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, together with Bihar and a portion of the East Punjab, with the exclusion

⁴³ Watters "On Yuan Chwang", Vol. I., p. 351.

⁴⁴ Cf. e.g. the map of India at the end of Watters, Vol. II.

of a small strip of territory in the north-west corresponding to Hinen Tsang's Mo-ti-pu-lo.

It will probably be urged against this view that the institution and employment of the Harṣa era indicate that a larger extent of territory was under the sway of Harṣavardhana. Mr. Panikkar contends that "eras are established only by kings claiming to be sovereign of the whole of Āryāvarta."⁴⁵ Of this however there is no evidence. There is no evidence that the Śakas or Cedis ever established an empire embracing a considerable portion of northern India, and even the Guptas never fully succeeded in accomplishing the task; yet there is an era associated with every one of them. Then let us examine a little more closely the facts connected with use of Harṣa era. Kielhorn's list of inscriptions of Northern India contain only twenty that were "dated according to the Harṣa era." These may be classified as follows:—

- I. Two inscriptions of Harṣavardhana himself (528-529).
- II. Eleven inscriptions from Nepāl (Nos. 530-534, 536-541).
- III. One inscription of Āditya Sena of Magadh (No. 535).
- IV. Two Pratihāra inscriptions (Nos. 542, 544).
- V. Four miscellaneous inscriptions (Nos. 543, 545-547) one from some place in the Punjāb, one from Khajurāho, one from Pehevē (Pehoa) in the Karnāl district, and one from Panjaur near Thanesar.

Of these the ascription of the eleven inscriptions of Class II to the Harṣa era is, as already stated above, at best doubtful, and Kielhorn has himself put a query against each of them. The date of two inscriptions of Class IV was wrongly read as 155 and 158 and therefore ascribed to the Harṣa era. As Professor Bhandarkar has shown, the correct reading of these dates should be 955 and 958 they are to be referred to the Vikrama era.⁴⁶ Thus excluding Harṣa's own inscriptions, we know of only five which may be referred to the Harṣa era, for none of them, be it noted, distinctly refers to the era as such. Of these five,

⁴⁵ Op. Cit., p. 19.

⁴⁶ J. Bo. Br. R. A. S., Vol. XXI., pp. 405 ff., 413 ff.

three belong to localities which are included within Harṣa's dominions indicated above, the findplace of the fourth is uncertain, it being discovered in "some place in the Punjab," and the fifth is found at Khajuraho a few miles from the borderland between United Provinces and Bundelkhand. Thus even if we hold that an era could only be employed in territories which were once within the jurisdiction of its royal founder—which is by no means an established fact,—the extant evidence about the employment of the Harṣa era in epigraphic records is fully in agreement with our views about the extent of Harṣa's kingdom.

That Harṣa era never held any important position in India also follows from Alberuni's account. He notes that the era was used in his time in Mathura and the country of Kanauj.⁴⁷ Thus every available evidence indicates that the era never obtained any wide currency and its use was limited to the area we have indicated above as the dominions of Harṣa.

Having thus demonstrated the extent of Harṣavardhana's empire we may now proceed to the second part of the proposition referred to at the beginning of this paper. It has been held, that Harṣavardhana was the last great Hindu emperor in Northern India, and that no importance attaches to its history since his reign inasmuch as there was only conflict of petty states without any attempt at unification by any sovereign authority, such as was successfully carried out by Harṣa. Such a proposition might have been excused before the discovery of the epigraphic records of the Palas and the Pratihāras, but it is somewhat disconcerting to find even modern scholars repeating a statement which is not only unwarranted by any authority but demonstrably false. I leave aside for the time being the previous discussions about Harṣa's kingdom, but accept the current theory as to its extent for the sake of argument. Now would anybody maintain that Dharmapala's empire as described in verse 12 of the Khālimpur Copperplate⁴⁸ was less in extent than that of Harṣa? In the case of Dharmapal we do

⁴⁷ Alberuni's India—Sachau—Vol. II., p. 5.

⁴⁸ Ep. Ind., Vol. IV., p. 243.

meet with vague general expressions about the extent of his empire, but the king of Bengal is said to have exercised sway over Bhoja, Matsya, Madra, Kuru, Yadu, Yavana, Avantī, Gāndhāra and Kīra countries and to have proceeded as far as Himālaya in the north and Gokarṇa in the south. His son and successor Devapāla is not only described in general terms as lord of the whole of India, but is specially referred to as having conquered Kāmarūpa and Utkal, and defeated the Hūṇas, Gurjaras and Dravidas. The Pāla empire was not only greater in extent but also endured for a longer time than the empire of Harṣa. Even a remote descendant of Dharmapāla in the eleventh century A.D. ruled as far as Benares. Yet Harṣavardhana's empire is regarded as the last great empire in Northern India! It may of course be argued that full reliance cannot be placed on the inscriptions of the Pālas—but the same argument applies with still greater force in the case of Harṣa, for in one case we have specific reference to conquered countries in a contemporary record open to public inspection, while in the other we have merely general expressions of greatness in the pages written by an admiring friend.

Then we have the Pratihāra emperors Bhoja I and Mahendra Pāla. Bhoja I ruled over the whole of Northern India west of Magadha with the exception of Kāśmīr and Sind and probably also of Chedi, while his son and successor Mahendra Paladeva added a considerable portion of Magadha to the empire.⁴⁹ Here again we find an empire not only larger in extent but longer in duration than the empire of Harṣa.

In the face of all these it is difficult to maintain either that "the heavy burden of empire which Harṣa took upon himself and maintained for more than forty years was not to be borne in future by a single man," or that "the death of Harṣa gave free scope to a host of petty local dynasties and we cease to feel interest in the history of India till the appearance of the Mussulmans." Ideas like these are now commonly held and freely

⁴⁹ See my paper on the "Gurjara-Pratihāras", Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta University, Vol. X., p. 55ff.

pressed by writers on Indian history and some even draw from them important inferences about the future destiny of India.⁵⁹ The truth of the matter seems to be that Harṣavardhana was fortunate in possessing an overzealous admirer to record an exaggerated account of his life and reign whereas his successors had none to tell their tale. It is one of those accidents of History which have succeeded in all ages and countries to destroy the true perspective view of events, at least for a considerable period. But truth, like murder, will be out at last. We have discussed above the reliability of Hiuen Tsang's account of Harṣa's empire and we propose to discuss in a separate paper the reliability of his version of the early life of Harṣa and topics connected therewith.

⁵⁹ Cf. e.g. the last paragraph of Chapter XIII of V. Smith's *Early History of India* (3rd edition), p. 358.

V.—Nirvāṇam.

By D. N. Sen, M. A., I.E.S.

I.—The quest and how it arose.

The Indian mind was passing through a serious crisis, and was in the travail of a great re-birth. Old ideals had become outworn. They had lost their force, and to a great extent, their meaning.

A deep discontent with things ephemeral and a yearning for the eternal characterised the earlier Upanishads. Sadly exclaims the rishi in the Kathopanishad.—

“Sasyamiva martyah pacyate, sasyamivā-jāyate punaḥ.”
“Like crops mortals [mature and die, and like crops they are born again.”

“Ajīryatāmamritānāmupetya, jīryanmartyah kvadhah sthah
prajānan,

Avidhyāyan varṇaratipramodāna tidirgbejivite ko rameta.”

“After having approached the undecaying and the deathless,
does the decaying mortal in full consciousness,
Delight in the pursuit of beauty, pleasure and women, in
a life of great length ?”

A student in the Chandogya Upanishad approaches his teacher and asks him, “Bhagavāncechokasya pāram tārayatu” (Sir, take me across the river of sorrow):

In the same Upanishad the teacher addresses the student and says, “Yo bai Bhūmā tat sukham, nālpe sukham asti” (That which is Bhūmā, Vast, is sukham or joy, there is no joy in *Alpam* or that which is small). The pursuit of the limited brings no joy. There is joy only in seeking that which is beyond limit.

In the Vājasenīya Brahmapanishad, Jānavalkya offered to divide his wealth between his two wives as he was retiring into

the forest in order to prepare for the last stage of life. One of them, Maitreyi, wanted to know if wealth could make her escape death. The reply was, "Wealth destroys all hope of immortal life." Maitreyi said she had no use for a thing which could not win for her a deathless existence.

They had a dread of the dark and sunless regions where the unenlightened go after death.

"Asuryā nāma te lokā andhena tamasāvritā,
Tan ste pretyabbigacchanti ye ke cātmahano janāḥ."

"The sunless regions immersed in darkness,

Where they go after death, those that have killed their
ātman."

The Katha says "Tri-karmakrit (one who devotes himself to tending the sacrificial fire, study and almsgiving) tarati janmamrityu", the doer of the three duties escapes birth and death and speaks of the attainment of "śāntimat tyantam" peace supreme, and of throwing away "harshasokau," joy and sorrow. As with Buddha so with the rishis of the Upanishads, the consciousness of the limitations of this life with the inevitable concomitants of birth, decay, death, rebirth, and the sorrows and disappointments which are inseparable from this life, filled their minds with a deep discontent and sent them in search of a higher ideal which was just dawning upon the national consciousness but had not as yet shaped itself into definiteness.

The Vedic world was a world of popular realism and life was interpreted as a sunny, bright existence. It was healthy, vigorous and full of the lust of natural manhood. Both in the Upanishads and in Buddhism we find Indian humanity outgrowing the earlier ideal as the shadow of a higher ideal was cast athwart the gladsome sunshine of the natural but outworn creed of the Vedic world. Satiated with luxury, the Indian mind recoiled from it and sought a higher end of life and a cleaner object of pursuit. Nursed in the lap of luxury, surrounded by everything that pleased the senses and held the mind enthralled and drove away all serious thoughts, Prince Siddhārtha incidentally came across four sights (in the Pali texts they have been

called "Devadūtas" or angels) which gave him a rude awakening and filled his mind with sadder and deeper thoughts. The warning conveyed by the four messengers from heaven in the shape of old age, disease, death and the calm glow of peace which rests on the face of a saint, made the Bodhisatva feel that life as it was understood and lived by the majority of men was extremely insecure and that the truth must be found which would explain it satisfactorily and place it above the dangers of death, decay and old age. A similar experience is narrated about one of his disciples, Jasa. He was a merchant prince and had three luxurious dwellings suitable for three different seasons, one for summer, one for winter, and a third for the four months of the monsoon. During these months he lived alone in his mansion surrounded by women who beguiled his time with music and dancing. One night in the midst of the entertainment he fell asleep and when he woke up in the early hours of the morning his mind was filled with disgust as he looked upon his companions who lay asleep in ungainly attitudes and talked incoherently in their dreams. Putting on his golden sandals he left his luxurious residence, went through the streets of Benares and passed out through the city gates which opened spontaneously at his approach, exclaiming all the time "Oh I am distressed, I am tortured." At that early hour Buddha was taking his morning exercise, and as he heard Jasa's words of pain and distress he came down from his walking platform and seated himself on a mat. As Jasa approached the place where he was sitting, uttering his exclamation of pain, Buddha addressed him and said "Jasa, there is no distress here, no torture; come Jasa sit down, I shall teach you the truth." Thus addressed, Jasa was delighted and putting off his golden sandals came and sat near the Master, who after duly preparing his mind for the message, told him that Sorrow has been produced and can be removed. This recoil against the pursuit of pleasure was induced by the pressure of a higher ideal which existed subconsciously in the national mind but had yet to be made conscious through the message which came through Buddha.

In the first memorable words which he addressed to the five companions who had abandoned him when he gave up his ascetic practice, "O Bhikkhus, Listen, I have attained undying bliss," we have the simplest and the most forcible expression of the object of his quest and its consummation. The word "*amalam*", sanskrit *amritam*, has a twofold meaning. On the one hand it means ambrosia as symbolising the bliss which is beyond these shores and, on the other hand, it signifies the attainment of that which is beyond death. It represents both the aspects of Nirvāṇa, "*Nibbānam paramam sukham*" (Nirvāṇa is the highest bliss), and "*Nibbānam ama tam padam*." (Nirvāṇa is the state of deathlessness). Buddha's success with those whom he addressed was phenomenal, because his problem was their problem, viz. how to put an end to an endless cycle of births and rebirths, even the highest heaven being only a temporary abode. He held out to them the hope of final emancipation from the bondage of mortal life, and with it from pleasure, pain, birth, decay, disease and death. Tired of forever chasing the flitting shadows, they yearned for an object of pursuit which was not illusory, unsubstantial and unreal. They sighed for a homeland which they sought in vain in the mirage of the uncertain world, but of which there still lingered a sweet remembrance which all the trials of the earth's life could not effectually repress;—this irrepressible longing of the finite for the infinite, of the mortal for immortal life, of the sorrow-stricken for undying bliss, of the way-worn traveller for the land where labour knows no weariness, which drove the growing inner life to escape from its futile past and strive for something beyond and above it. The world we are born in is sweet and joyful, the senses charm us with their syren song, and we go deeper and deeper into this life and are lulled to sleep as the charmed insect goes deeper and deeper into the lethal chamber of the pitcher plant and ultimately loses itself in it. The new life which was dawning upon the Indian mind brought to it a new interpretation of existence, viz. the utter hollowness of the life of pleasure and its cramping limitations, the paltriness of the ordinary

human pursuits and the vision of a higher life with its infinite possibilities and perfections which could not be expressed or measured with the concepts and ideals of a world of hedonistic aims. This picture of the life of pleasure is vividly portrayed in the famous sermon Buddha preached on the *Gayāśhīrsha* mountain to a large assembly of ascetics whom he had converted to his faith and who followed him as devoted disciples. This sermon is known as "Aditta-pariyāya", i.e., about the world being aflame, i.e. aflame with the fire of hatred, covetousness and ignorance. Life was like a burning pile and the only way out of it was renunciation. Hundreds and thousands gave up their homes and followed him in the path of selflessness which he had chosen for himself after a long, strenuous and fateful search. Such was the burning faith he kindled in the minds of men that a great alarm spread over the land on account of the denuded homes and the thinned families which his disciples left behind them.

II.—Nirvāṇam as Interpreted by Western Scholars.

The European mind, charmed by the idea of Nirvāṇa, has hovered long over it with equiposed wings, quivering with real genuine sympathy but yet looking upon it as an impenetrable mystery, hesitating to dismiss the idea as an empty delusion or ruthlessly unveiling it with an irreverent hand. Oldenburg with a fine psychological insight has truly depicted the Buddhist attitude as one of longing for the eternal and the ineffable which is as keen as it is truly affirmative, but one of absolute helplessness to encompass it in thought except by way of exclusion. And yet we have to admit that that was a strictly logical attitude as the Master had to use concepts which had not as yet attained that stage of evolution when they could convey clearness of impression to the popular mind with which he had chiefly to deal and to which he had to deliver his message. At the same time, why should we set such a high value upon the intellect which is not of very ancient growth and has been called into existence by the exigencies of evolution and is in fact the latest developed organ which has come to our help in

the struggle for existence, and even as it is at present, gives but an uncertain and fluctuating glow? There are other and deeper powers of our nature which find expression in feeling and impulse and drive us to our goal with greater force and directness. The deeper mysteries of existence do not lend themselves to visualisation and in their presence the human reason collapses in self-made contradictions. The inner being long with an unwearied yearning for a goal which the poor intellect cannot visualise and illuminate.

Alabaster.—It is not difficult to follow *Alabaster* in the well-balanced judgment which he has pronounced on the subject. Buddha's teachings had a thoroughly practical aim, viz. that of doing away with human sorrow, and they directly referred to this life. That was the supreme theme of his preaching. He always referred to this life and no other. Nirvāṇa, therefore, meant with him an utter and absolute release from the limitations of present existence. The oil lamp goes out as the oil is used up. So this life vanishes as the elements which feed it are consumed.

Paul Dahlke.—Paul Dahlke brings to the interpretation of Buddhism an amount of genuine enthusiasm and sympathetic appreciation which is unique, and cannot fail to impress an unbiassed mind. Restfully rocking on the bosom of the ocean of eternal waves as the sea-gull is rocked on the bosom of the sea-wave, and a complete detachment from the seething passions which cause a ceaseless and restless struggle, such is the state of Nirvāṇa as understood by Dahlke. And this is undoubtedly one of the many-coloured rays which glow out of the composite light of Nirvāṇa.

Spence Hardy.—The vehicles of life, of which repeated rebirths with all their attendant evils are the chief characteristic, are completely destroyed at the consummation of Nirvāṇa. This is the view of Spence Hardy. But he forgets that *Tathāgata* preached only the annihilation of the caused existence, of the existence which is inseparable from decay, death, sorrow, misery, and not of a life which transcends these limitations.

And yet Hardy is quite right so far as this life was understood by the Buddhists. Only his remarks do not apply to any other life or form of existence.

Bishop Bigandet.—Bishop Bigandet has taken the ordinary Buddhist view of Nirvāṇa. The body, which is composed of the four elements, is evanescent and illusory, vanishing as the elements separate and disperse, and totally different from the self which is not made up of perishable components and does not disintegrate. The sage declares that all things are neither himself nor belong to himself. A stranger in a strange world, his life's long vocation is an arduous and ever-watchful preparation for extricating himself from its meshes so that the liberated spirit may escape into the freedom of Nirvāṇa. He has eradicated his errors, he has cooled his passions, and like a victorious warrior, he is returning home in joyful triumph. The devout Buddhist schools himself carefully for this consummation and patiently awaits the final emancipation undazzled by any vision of a heaven which is but an upper material world crammed with earthly blisses, only super-fined and sublimated.

Childers.—Childers represents an important school of European thought with regard to Buddhism and deserves more than a passing notice. He does not speak hesitatingly about the meaning of Nirvāṇa as understood by him. Nirvāṇa is annihilation, absolute cessation of existence, in the first stage only the cessation of sinful propensities, but finally, release from existence or utter annihilation. There is another inherent element in this phase of thought, viz. that Buddhism was essentially different from Hinduism and that the great mission of Budha's life and teaching was to subvert Hinduism. We are called upon to believe that the creed of the great spiritual movement inaugurated by Tathāgata was sublimated suicide, and that the powerful forces set free by this stupendous world impulse which sought to train men's minds to rise to the conception of the highest humanistic ideals and to help them to materialise it in their lives simply led to the path of annihilation. Apart

from all other considerations of a more or less weighty nature I cannot conceive a larger and more astounding demand upon the credulity of man than the view propounded by Childers regarding the meaning of Nirvāṇa. Freedom from sin always means a setting free of moral forces which are positive and powerful and constitute an inner reality which is the basis of the regenerate life and has in it elements which nothing can destroy. The ideals which the Master has bequeathed to us and which still inspire the lives of millions are not unreal or inoperative even at this distant date. The ideals are immortal, the moral forces which they represent are immortal but the Master with his noble host of co-workers has vanished into nothingness. Nothing could be more revolting, more fundamentally inconsistent with the creed of Buddhism than this fantastic interpretation. I would ask if "Bhava" is not one of the intermediate links in the chain of causation with many causes and effects preceding it and if by "Bhava" is not always meant "Samsār" the sphere representing the cycle of transmigration, a whirling eddy in the vast stream of existence? The eddying circles pass back again into the calm depth of Being out of which they arose, to begin their circling life again only to lose themselves finally in the immensity of existence and not in Nothingness.

The proposition that the absence of "Bhava" means the absence of existence is untenable, because "Bhava" is preceded by antecedent causes which produce it and therefore are present and operative before it comes into existence. "Bhava" consists of the "Kāma" world, the "Rūpa" world, and the "Arūpa" world. Beyond these lies "Nirupadisesa" or absolute Nirvāṇa. "Avidyā" the first term in the link of causation out of which "Bhava" is evolved is "Aññānam" ignorance with regard to "Dukkham" the origin of "Dukkham" the prevention of "Dukkham", and the steps leading to the prevention of "Dukkham" (Bibhanga, Burmese edition, page 121). The principle of Illusion or Ignorance would be a mere hypostatised abstraction unless we attach it to a Subject, "Sattā" or "Attā" and this is how it has been interpreted by Buddhist annotators. (Sammoha-binodani, Ceylonese edition,

page 132). A self-imposed delusion makes us enter this world of transmigrations, and when we succeed in working our way out of the spell, we enter into Nirvāṇa, the ocean drop which lifted itself up as a cloud atom passes back into the home from which it came. The progress in the path of Nirvāṇa does not mean the mere rooting out of the adventitious growths but also a concurrent growth of inner life, the "*anandita dharmatanu*" of which the *Mahāpajāpati* spoke in the touching words she addressed to Buddha when she was joyfully passing into her "*parinibbana*."

At the time Buddha lived and preached, Indian religion and Indian society were not like what we understand by Hinduism now. The Vedic rites were followed by the Brahmans as of old, schools of wandering ascetics with rationalistic views and spiritual disciplines of their own travelled all over the land, while the Indian world was alive with deities in every grove and dale, in every tree and river, presiding over every clan, family and individual. The caste system though surely existent was not as rigid and exclusive as it became later during the long domination of Brahmanic influence, as intermarriages were prevalent though tendencies had set in for restricting such alliances within the circles of families claiming a pure pedigree. Even the married state had not attained the stability which it did afterwards. Buddha left the Indian pantheon severely alone except for the fact that he placed Nirvāṇa above the gods. He did not protest even against the performance of Vedic rites so far as they were free from the shedding of innocent blood and did not encourage the giving of alms to bad and ignorant people. The one great theme of his preaching to all alike was the emphasis he laid on the purity of life as the only law of success in this as well as any other life. Can we say that in the Upanishads we find an unconditional allegiance to the creed of the orthodox schools or the preaching of an ideal which did not outgrow the Vedic rituals and insist on an inner spiritual discipline as contrasted with the conformity to the observances laid down for the performance of the Vedic sacrifices? Buddha's movement was

essentially an Indian movement and a counterpart of the rationalistic movement which transformed religious conceptions in the very heart of Brahmanism itself. Only it was the ethical expression of the same quest for the Eternal and the Undying which inspired the great Upanishads. If the Brahmans in their forest recluses tried to have a glimpse of the Ultimate Reality conceived as Transcendent Being, the Buddhists tried to drown the miseries of existence by working their way into a state of Being where the storms and floods of this world could not assail them.

III.—Nirvanam in the Buddhist Scriptures.

1. In the Digha Nikāya :—The fundamental question which Buddhism sought to solve was :—

“ Kiccam va tāyam loko āpanno, jāyati ca jiyati ca, miyati ca cavati ca uppaj jati ca. Atha ca pan imassa dukkhassa nissaranam nappa jānā ti jarāmaranassa, kudassu nāma imassa dukkhassa nissaranam pannāyissati jarāmaranassāti ? ”

“ Oh, this world is full of trouble, they are born and are subject to decay, they die, pass out of this world and are born again. And they do not know the way out of the trouble and the escape from decay and death ; how is the way out of sorrow, of decay and death, to be known ? ”

This is the old old problem which confronted Bodhisatva *Vipassi* and he thought as follows :—

“ Kimhinu kho satijarāmaranam hoti kimpaccayā jarāmarananti ? ”

“ What is that which occurring decay and death occur, what is the condition of decay and death ? ”

Then came to him the thought of causal connection, and the illumination of reason :—

“ Jātiya kho sati jarā-maranam hoti jāti-paccayā jarāmarananti.”

“ Birth having taken place, decay and death follow, birth is the condition of decay and death,”

Then *Vipassi* Bodhisatva thought :—

“ Kimhi nu kho sati jāti hoti, kimpaccayā jāti ti ? ”

“ What happening Jāti birth comes into existence, what is the condition of Jāti ? ”

After this Bodhisatva *Vipassi* thought of the causal links and the illumination of reason flashed into his mind :—

“ Bhavē kho sati jāti hoti, Bhavapaccayā jāti ti.”

“ On the occurrence of Bhavo (existence in the desire sphere, in the sense sphere, in the supersensuous sphere) birth follows, Bhavo is the condition of birth.”

Then this occurred to Bodhisatva *Vipassi* :—

“ Kimhi nu kho sati Bhavo hoti kimpaccayā Bhavo ti ? ”

“ What is that which taking place Bhavo takes place, what is the condition of Bhavo ? ”

Then Bodhisatva *Vipassi* thought of the causal links and the illumination of reason flashed into his mind :—

“ On Upādāna ingredients coming into existence, Bhavo is produced, Upādāna is the condition of Bhavo.”

After this Bodhisatva *Vipassi* thought as follows :—

“ Kimhi nu kho sati Upādānam hoti kimpaccayā Upādānamti ? ”

“ What is that which taking place Upādānam is produced ? ”

“ What is the condition of Upādānam ? ”

Bodhisatva *Vipassi* then reflected on the causal link and the illumination of reason flashed into his mind :—

“ Tanhāya kho sati Upādānam hoti, Tanhā paccayā Upādānam.”

“ Tanhā (desire, literally thirst) arising, Upādānam (ingredients) arise, Tanhā is the condition of Upādānam.”

Bodhisatva *Vipassi* then thought :—

“ Kimhi nu kho sati Tanhā hoti, kimpaccayā Tanhā ti ? ”

“ What is it taking place Tanhā takes place, what is the condition of Tanhā ? ”

Vipassi Bodhisatva then reflected on the sequence of cause and effect and the illumination of reason flashed into his mind :—

“ Vedanāya kho sati Tanhā hoti vedanā paccayā Tanhā ti ”

“Vedanā (sense knowledge) taking place, Tanhā (desire) arises, Vedanā is the condition of Tanhā.”

Bodhisatva *Vipassi* then reflected thus:—

“Kimhi nu kho sati Vednā hoti kimpaccayā Vedanā?”

“What taking place Vedanā arises, what is the condition of Vedanā?”

Bodhisatva *Vipassi* then reflected on causal sequence and the illumination of reason flashed into his mind.—

“Phasso kho satti Vedanā hoti, phasso paccaya Vedanā ti.”

“Phasso (touch or contact) taking place Vedanā (sense knowledge) takes place, Phasso (contact) is the condition of Vedanā (sense knowledge).

This then occurred to Bodhisatva *Vipassi*.—

“Kimhi nu kho sati Phasso hoti, kimpaccayā Phasso ti?”

What taking place Phasso (contact) arises, what is the condition of Phasso?

Bodhisatva *Vipassi* then reflected on the casual sequence and the illumination of reason flashed into his mind:

“Salāyatanam kho sati Phasso hoti, Salāyatanam paccayā Phasso ti.”

“On Salāyātana (the six spheres, i.e., the senses) coming into existence Phasso (contact) takes place, the Salāyātana (the six senses) are the condition of Phasso (contact).”

Then it occurred to Bodhisatva *Vipassi*:—

“Kimhi nu kho sati Salāyatanam hoti, kimpaccayā Salāyātana ti?”

“What taking place Salāyatanam comes into existence, what is the condition of Salāyatanam (and six senses).”

Bodhisatva *Vipassi* then reflected on the casual sequence and the illumination of reason flashed into his mind:—

“Nāma-rūpam (mind and body) coming into existence Salāyatanam (the six senses) appears, Nāma-rūpam is the condition of Salāyatanam.”

“Nāmarūpam kho sati Salāyatanam hoti, Nāmarūpam paccayā Salāyatanam.”

Bodhisatva *Vipassi* then thought thus:—

"Kimhi nu kho sati Nāmarūpam hoti, kimpaccayā Nāmarūpam ti"?

"What is that which taking place Nāmarūpam comes into existence, what is the condition of Nāmarūpam?"

Bodhisatva *Vipassi* the reflected on then causal sequence and the illumination of reason flashed into his mind :—

"Viññāne kho sati Nāmarūpam hoti, Viññāna-paccayā Nāmarūpam ti."

"On Viññān (consciousness) coming into existence, Nāmarūpam arises, Viññān (consciousness) is the condition of Nāmarūpam (the mental and bodily characteristics)."

Then Bodhisatva *Vipassi* thought like this :—

"Kimhi nu kho sati Viññānam hoti, kimpaccayā Viññānam ti?"

"What is that which coming into existence Viññānam comes into existence, what is the condition Viññānam?"

Bodhisatva *Vipassi* then reflected on the causal sequence and the illumination of reason flashed into his mind :—

"On Nāmarūpam coming into existence, Viññānam arises, Nāmarūpam is the condition of Viññānam".

After this Bodhisatva *Vipassi* reflected :—

"This Viññānam returns from Nāmarūpam and does not go any further. Thus they are born or decay or die or leave a world to be born in another, viz. Nāmarūpam is the condition of Viññānam, Viññānam is the condition of Nāmarūpam, Nāmarūpam is the condition of Salāyatanam, Salāyatanam is the condition of Phasso, Phasso is the condition of Vedanā, Vedanā is the condition of Tanhā, Tanhā is the condition of Upādānam, Upādānam is the condition of Bhavo, Bhavo is the condition of Jāti, Jāti is the condition of Jarā-maraṇa-Soka-Parideva-Dukkha-Domanassa-Upāyāsa."

Similarly *Vipassi* Bodhisatva reflected how Jarā-maraṇam could be stopped and came to the conclusion that by preventing Nāmarūpam from coming into existence, Jāra-maraṇam and other evils of existence could be stopped.

The creed of *Vipassi* was perhaps the oldest form of the theory of the origination of the evils of this existence. The fact that it omits two important links in the causal nexus, viz.

Avidyā and Sankhāra lends additional support to the same view. The *Mahānidāna Sutta* records a dialogue between Buddha and Ananda in which also these two links do not appear. The dialogue omits even Salāyatanam, and Phasso is attributed to Nāmarūpam without the intervening link of Salāyatanam. The same dialogue throws much light upon the relation between Viññānam and Nāmarūpam, which are described as mutually dependent. The evolution of the foetus in the mother's womb cannot, it is argued, take place without the directing activity of Viññānam, neither can Viññānam effect anything without the help of Nāmarūpam, viz., the powers and elements which make up the complete individual. Buddhaghosa, in his famous commentary on the Dīgha Nikāya, says:—

“Yathā ma tukucchyaṃ patisaṇḍhigahanepi kucchivāsepi kucchito nikkhamanepi pavattiyam dasavassādikālepi Viññānam evassa paccayo, tasmā eeva hetu evo paccayo Nāmarūassa yadidaṃ Viññānam. Ya thāhi rājā āttano parisam nigganhananto evaṃ vadeya tvam uparājā tvam senapati ti kena kato, nanu maya kato, sacehi mayi akaranto tvam attam dhammatayā uparājā va senapati va bhavēyyasi jāneyyāṃ vo valanti.”

“Just as in entering the mother's womb, in living in the mother's womb, and in attaining the tenth and the other years Viññānam is the cause, so the condition of and the cause of Nāmarūpam also is this Viññānam. It is just like a raja appointing his officers, ordering “you are to be the Uparāja and you Senapati. Who has made you what you are? I have made you what you are. If you could be Uparāja and Senapati by virtue of your own powers, that would show you have made yourself what you are.”

Viññānam has, therefore, the sovereign power over Nāmarūpam and at the same time is dependent upon it as a king is the sovereign lord over his viceroy and commander-in-chief, and at the same time entirely helpless without their co-operation.

The ultimate principle, therefore, is Viññānam, Cittam or Mano, and it presides over the material and immaterial principles which compose the individual.

2. In the *Samyutta Nikāya*:—The doctrine of origination is given in full detail. The story of *Vipassi* is repeated here without the missing links.

“Then this occurred to *Vipassi* Bodhisatva :—

“What taking place *Viññānam* takes place, what is the condition of *Viññānam* ?”

“*Vipassi* Bodhisatva then reflected on the concatenation of causes, and the light of reason flashed into his mind:—

“On the occurrence of the *Sankhārās* (antecedent factors which enter into the formation of body, mind, and speech), *Viññānam* arises, *Sankhārās* are the condition of *Viññānam*.

“Then this occurred to *Vipassi* Bodhisatva:—

“What taking place the *Sankhārās* occur, what is the condition of the *Sankhārās*?

“*Vipassi* Bodhisatva then reflected on the concatenation of causes and the light of reason flashed into his mind :—

“On the occurrence of *Avijjā* (the ignorance about sorrow, the origination of sorrow, the cessation of sorrow and the steps leading to the extinction of sorrow), *Sankhārās* occur, *Avijjā* is the condition of the *Sankhārās*.”

The *Samyutta Nikāya* is undoubtedly of later origin than the *Digha Nikāya*. The *Vipassi* story is repeated in this collection with additions which do not occur in the *Digha*, and even the orthodox introduction to a *sutta*, viz. “*evam me sutam*” (thus I have heard) is omitted in a large number of them. The *Samyutta* is a most useful compilation for the student of Buddhist canonical literature as it gives in a very convenient form important sayings coming under a particular subject. The *Samyutta* sometimes gives even a *Bibhanga* (lit., analysis) at convenient places in Buddha’s own words, thus greatly facilitating the understanding of the sacred texts.

An explanation of the terms in the Buddhist creed of origination in Buddha’s own words will be welcome to our readers and will be an invaluable help to the elucidation of the doctrine. I give below the substance of the *Bibhanga* on the subject of origination:—

“ What is Jarā-maraṇam ? ”

“ Jarā is the breaking down, the going to pieces, the taking on of grey colour, the shrivelling of the skin, the shortening of the limit of life, the attainment of the full maturity of the organs. Maraṇam is the passage from one world to another, disappearance, death, dispersion of the elements which compose earthly existence, abandonment of the body.”

“ What is Jāti ? ”

“ Jāti is birth, descent, rebirth after death in another world, the coming into being of various component parts and attributes of an individual, the attainment of the senses and sense organs.”

“ What is Bhavo ? ”

“ There are three Bhavas, viz. the Kāmabhavo, the Rupa-bhavo and the Arupabhavo.” (The world of Desire, the world of Corporeal Existence and the world of Incorporeal Existence).

“ What is Upādānam ? ”

“ There are four Upādānas, Kāmupādānam, Dithupādānam, Silabbatupādānam, Attavādupādānam.” (Desire, wrong views, wrong conduct, wrong views about the self.)

“ What is desire ? ”

“ There are six Desires : Desire for things seen, heard, smelt, tasted, touched, and such longings as arise out of thought or feeling (arising out of Vedanā, Saññā, Samkhāra.—Childers, page 120).

“ What is Vedanā ? ”

“ These five are Vedanās : Vedanā arising out of thought contact with vision, hearing, smell, taste touch and mind.”

“ What is Phasso ? ”

“ These five are Phasso : Phasso or contact with the eye, ear, nose, tongue, body and mind.”

“ What is Salāyatanaṃ ? ”

“ The Salāyatanas or six sense-spheres are those of the eye, ear, nose, taste touch, and mind.”

“ What is Nāmarūpaṃ ? ”

“ Vedanā (sense consciousness), Saññā (perceptual consciousness), Cetanā (thought), Phasso (contact), Manasikāra (reflec-

tion) ; these constitute Nāman. The four elements and the forms arising out of the four Mahābhūtas (elements). These constitute Rūpan. These together are collectively called Nāmarūpan."

" What is Viññānam ? "

" These are the various embodiments of Viññānam ; knowledge derived from vision, hearing, smell, taste, touch, and mind. "

" What are Saṅkhārās ? "

" These three are the Saṅkhārās : all that collectively constitute Body, Speech and Mind (the intelligent principle). "

" What is Avijjā ? "

" The ignorance about sorrow, about the cause of sorrow, the cessation of sorrow, and the steps leading to the cessation of sorrow. "

" Thus Avijjā is the cause of Saṅkhārās, Saṅkhārās is the condition of Viññānam, Viññānam is the condition of Nāmarūpan, Nāmarūpan is the condition of Salāyatana, Salāyatana is the condition of Phassa, Phassa is the condition of Vedanā, Vedanā is the condition of Tanhā, Tanhā is the condition of Bhavo, Bhavo is the condition of Birth, from which follow Decay, Death, Sorrow, Lamentation, Affliction, Sadness of spirits, and Despair. "

" When however Avijjā is put an end to by complete renunciation, the Saṅkhārās disappear, through the inhibition of the Saṅkhārās, Viññānam and all the other conditioned products are removed (S.N. Part II, page 4). "

The conditioned Principles :—In the enumeration of the conditioned principles in the Paccaya sermon (Sanyutta Nikāya, page 26 P.T.S.) we have the following :—

" Bhikkhus, what are the principles which are conditioned ? "

" Bhikkhus, Jarāmaraṇam is non-eternal, limited, of conditioned origin, perishable, subject to decay, influenced by renunciation, capable of being put a stop to. "

" Bhikkhus, Jāti (birth) is non-eternal, of conditioned origin

subject to decay, perishable, influenced by renunciation, and capable of being put a stop to."

" Bhikkhus, Bhavo (the world or conditioned existence) is non-eternal, of conditioned origin, perishable, subject to decay, influenced by renunciation, capable of being put a stop to."

" Bhikkhus, Upādānam (materials which make up conditioned existence), Tanhā (thirst or hankering or desire), Vedanā (sense consciousness), Phasso (whatever affects the sense or the mind), Salāyatanam (sensations and sense organs), Nāmarūpam (the principles which form mind and body), Viññānam (intelligence), Sankhārās (the complex elements which enter into the formation of mind, body and speech) etc. etc."

" Bhikkhus, Avijjā (Ignorance or aberration of reason) is non-eternal, limited, of conditioned origin, perishable, subject to decay, influenced by renunciation and capable of being put a stop to."

Avijjā itself is therefore a conditioned principle and Nirvāṇa means its extinction.

The enquiry starts from an investigation of the causes of the evils of this existence and can be properly understood only as connected with a serious practical problem, viz. the extinction of sorrow.

So the first thought is that of Sorrow which arises out of the conviction that everything in this world is Anitya or non-eternal and Anattā not-self; and Sorrow is Jarāmaraṇam, decay and death and the other concomitants of worldly existence.

The antecedent condition of Jarāmaraṇam is Jāti or birth. If birth is removed all the evils of life are removed.

Again coming back to the facts of the present life we find that the attachment to this life arises out of desire for whatever is pleasurable to sense and understanding. The hankerings thus generated cling to us even after death. Death means to a Buddhist " Kalevarassa nikkhepo," the casting off of the body, the Citta, soul or self escaping with all the attachments of the world of Desire.

The ingre^lients generated by Desire (Tanhā), constitute a universe (Bhavo) for each individual, which exists in a subtler form in the ante-natal state and is the immediate antecedent condition of the⁷ evolution of the foetus.

In this life we also find that desires arise out of sense-consciousness which presupposes sense contact and this has for its antecedent condition the sense sphere.

The complex which the sense sphere represents has for its immediate antecedent Nāma-rūpam (Mind and Body) presided over by Viññānam or the intelligent principle.

The intelligent principle again is conditioned by the Samkhārāa or the collective remnants of a previous birth.

These arise out of the aberration of intelligence or Avijjā (Ignorance).

If, therefore, Avijjā is removed and the Cittam is thoroughly cleaned and purified, the cycle of rebirths is put an end to.

But the process is not one of mere elimination, it is through the vigorous growth of positive elements such as Metti (Friendliness), Karunā (Compassion), Muditā (Joyfulness), Upekkhā (a complete equipoise which no outside influence is capable of disturbing), that the final emancipation comes.

The attainment of the supreme knowledge is the result of strenuous effort in a life of constant watchfulness (Sati), active discrimination of right and wrong (Dharma vicayo), vigorous activity (Viriya), joyfulness (Sati), undisturbed calm (Passaddhi), depth of concentration (Samādhi), and absolute indifference to all disturbing influence (Upakkha).

The Buddhist life is not the dream life of the lotus-eaters, a life of languor and reverie ;—but its very opposite, and it brought to those who followed it faithfully the vision which opens out the gates of eternal peace. Fully conscious of the limitations of the earthly life, filled with sadness for the suffering which is inseparable from it, urged on by the sturdy optimism about the attainment of the ultimate bliss, the Buddhist pilgrim presses onward through the wild wastes of the world to the ocean of light and beholds, even while in this

life the joyful glow of the morn which is breaking over the sea-girt rim of worldly existence.

A recently converted Bhikkhu was goaded to death by a ferocious cow which had just given birth to a calf and the brother Bhikkhus brought the sad news to the Master, who directed that due funeral honours should be done to the earthly remains of the monk. The thoughts of the brotherhood naturally turned upon the question of the life after death and they came and asked the master :—

“ Sir, we have burnt the body of *Bāhiya Dāruciriya* and have raised a cumulus over it, what is his destination, what is his future ?”

The Master replied,—“ Bhikkhus, *Bāhiya Dāruciriya* was a learned man, he minutely followed the doctrines and neglected none. *Bāhiya* has entered into the final Nirvāṇ. ” And then he exclaimed thus :—

“ Where water, earth, fire, and air do not exist. There bright things lose their brilliance and the sun does not shine.

There the moon does not send out its rays, neither does darkness exist”.

(Bodhi-vaggo, Udānam.)

And with greater directness and with a clearness of expression which leaves no room for doubt, the Master speaks thus in another connection (Pāṭalivagga, Udānam) :—

“ Bhikkhus there is an āyatanum (place or state of existence) where neither earth nor water, nor fire, nor air, nor the sky, nor Viññānam (the intelligent principle), nor even Saññānasaññi āyatanam (neither consciousness nor unconsciousness), neither this world nor the other world, nor the sun, nor the moon exists. Bhikkhus, from it there is no coming, or out of it there is no going, no waiting, no departing, no birth.”

Nirvāṇam is not a world of matter or of mind (finite intelligence), and it is beyond the cycle of transmigrations, It is Transcendent Existence.

The little songster lives in its dark prison house and every moment it grows in strength and fullness of proportions, and all the time the shell wall grows thinner and thinner, the brightness of the outer world penetrates it more and more, and the glow of the coming day suffuses the inner chamber. And then lo! the shell bursts and the little bird is reborn in the glorious light of a new-born day. Is not that the case with us also?

The pilgrim soul begins its journey through this life as a part of it, but as it moves on in its earthly career, its inner and subtler powers grow and expand. The sense bound-soul breaks through its prison house as the vision of a higher life dawns upon it and draws it to its divine destiny. Instincts, impulses, mysterious yearnings, inarticulate whisperings from the depths of our being and dimly understood but irrepressible urgings from the secret places of our souls, keep us moving onwards towards our goal. But as towards the end of the journey the twilight spreads its gloom, a higher light comes upon us through the thin and all but transparent veil in which birth had clothed us and we await with throbbing hopes the great day when the veil will be rent asunder and the pilgrim with bowed head, silent and speechless, will stand bathed in the glory and joy of the Vision Ineffable.

VI.—Harappa Seals and Antiquity of Writing in India (with plate)*

By Rai Bahadur Bishun Svarup.

In the foregoing chapter mention has been made of three ancient Indian writings, viz. (1) the letters on the pottery found in the cairns in Southern India, (2) the writing on the rocks at Rājgir in the Patna District of Bihar and (3) the writing on the seals found in the north-west of India, which are better known as Harappā seals. None of these has yet been deciphered. It is a pity the pottery recovered from the cairns was reduced to such a state of disintegration that only a copy of the letters could be taken, without their arrangement, so it is impossible to read this remnant of perhaps the most ancient Asiatic writing.

The inscriptions at Rājgir (Patna), probably engraved when the old town of Rajagriha was in a flourishing condition, are comparatively modern. No serious attempt seems to have been made to read these inscriptions.

The same may be said of the Harappā seals. Five seals have up till now been discovered.¹ Three of these (marked A, B, C) have been described by Dr. J. F. Fleet in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1912, pages 699 to 701. The other two were discovered lately by Sir John Marshall, the Director-General of Archæology. The accompanying plate gives approximate copies of the facsimiles of the five seals. Of the first

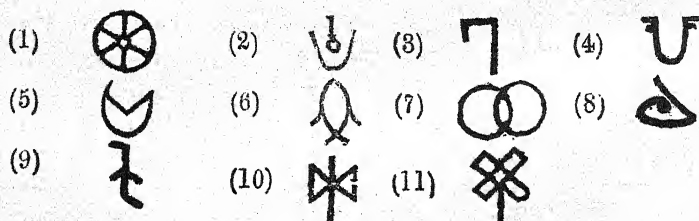
*To be read in connexion with the author's paper published J. B. O. R. S. 1922, ending at page 119.

¹ Since writing this some more seals have been unearthed by Archæological Department in strata decidedly pre-Mauriyan.

three, the inscription on the seal marked B has been tentatively read by Cunningham from left to right as "La-a-chh-mi-ya; and that on C by Fleet, starting from the same side as "Ka-lo-mo-lo-gu-ta"; Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, in an article in the Indian Antiquary of July 1913, reads the seal A as "di-vya-ba-lo" reading from right to left. He also suggests C to be read from right to left and makes the legend as "ta-pu-lo-mo-lo-go". None of these readings, except that of Mr. Jayaswal of the seal A, has any meaning. No interpretation has yet been offered of the other seals.

It will be found that in reading the seals it has been assumed that the script is either Bráhmī or allied to it and the interpreters could not think of any other method of writing. They evidently believed in the theory of Bühler and others that the Indian writing started with Bráhmī letters which had their origin in Semitic scripts. This theory we have seen has no real foundation to stand upon, and must be given up before we try to read these seals. The writing here is clearly pictorial and we cannot decipher them unless we keep this in mind; also it exhibits clear vowel signs added to the letters which is, so far as known, an exclusive Indian feature and shows that the script is Indian. It is therefore possible to read the letters if we can hit upon the proper Sanskrita names of the articles represented, and in what follows an attempt will be made to do this.

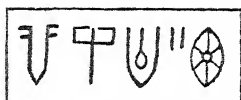
In the five seals we have the following letters, removing the possible vowel marks:—



In seal B there is another letter at the end which is not very distinct.

HARAPPA SEALS.

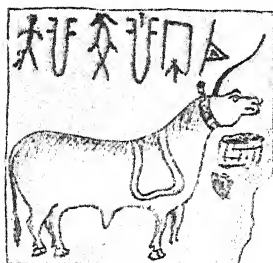
SEAL A.



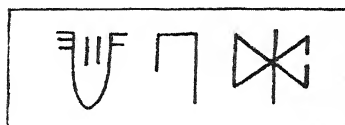
SEAL B.



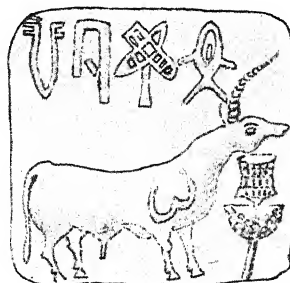
SEAL C.



SEAL D.













SEAL E.



J.B. & O.R.S.

The vowel or other marks are given below :—

(12)		(13)		(14)		(15)	
(16)		(17)		(18)		(19)	
(20)		(21)					

Now number (1) is the figure of a star, which is represented by the single lettered word **भ** hence this letter is **भ** (bh).

No. 2 looks like a crown called “Makūṭa” in Sanskrita. Hence this letter is **म** (m). The single lettered word **म** means moon, and as this sign is generally used for **म्** in words like Om and is known as “chandra vindu”, it is probable the shape of a crescent and dot is given to the letter **म** for that reason.


No. (3) is a stick called “danda” in Sanskrita. Hence this letter is **द** (d).

No. (4) represents a piece of cloth hanging from the shoulders (worn by Hindus and now known as chādar). It is therefore **व** (v), the single letter word **व** meaning cloth. The figure might have been meant to represent a rope hanging from pegs. The Sanskrita word “vata” or “vaṭi” means a rope. In this case also the letter is a **व** (v).

No. (5) is not quite distinct in the seal and cannot well be deciphered.

No. (6) looks like the blade of an arrow which is called “Śara” in Sanskrita. The letter is therefore **श** (Ś). The one lettered word **श** also means a weapon.

No. (7) is difficult to make out. The figure represents two wheels, the word for a wheel being “chakra” the letter may be **च** (ch); but it cannot be said why two wheels have been shown. It is possible this is either l or lingual n and is the origin of the present Devnāgarī letter **न** or **ण** which do not seem to have been derived from the Brāhmī.

No. (8) seems to be the cursive form of  and is therefore म (m).

No. (9) is a cursive form of the picture of a bird. The single lettered word स means a bird, hence this is स (s).

No. 10 represents a crab, which is called "karka" or "karkata" in Sanskrita. Hence it is a क (k).

No. (11) shows a churning stick as used in India. This being called "Takráta" and "Khaja" or "Khajaka" in Sanskrita, the letter represented is either त (t) or ख (kh).

Nos. (12) to (17) are vowel marks for á, i, í, u, ú, and e respectively. Nos. (18) and (19) are the letter र (ra) and रा (rá) added after another consonant, and No. (20) is र (r) added before one, ordinarily called "reph", No. (21) appears to be a "visarga".

With the above values of the different letters reading from right to left the seals show the following inscriptions:—

Seal A Bhímadeva भीमदेव

Seal C Mudrá viśravasah मुद्रा विश्रवः or the seal of Visravas.

Seal D Kadarví कद्वी

Seal E Śakhádúrva शाखादूर्व or Śátadúrva शतदूर्व

Seal B cannot be read fully, as the first and last letters are indistinct. Leaving gaps for these, it reads ()
ī sha chī (), () ī sha lī () or
() ī shani ().

The interpretation of the seals as given above could not be of much value unless it was shown that the names represented were of real personages. The seals B, C and E have also each got the figure of a bull of nearly the same shape, engraved below the name, which shows that these personages belonged to the same or contiguous dynasties.

Now going through the list of the ancient Hindu monarchs as preserved in the Purānas, it is found that the names inscribed on these seals do all belong to the monarchs of the Pāṇḍav

dynasty or descendants of Parikṣita, except seal C which shows the name of the first Rājā of the next dynasty.

Lists of these Rājās are given in Viṣṇu Purāṇa, Bhāgavata Purāṇa and Satyārtha Prakāśa of Swāmī Dayānanda Saraswatī, the founder of Ārya Samāja. The latter has copied the list from a manuscript found in Mewar and dated 1725 A. D. Here the Pāṇḍava dynasty shows 30 monarchs beginning with Yudhiṣṭhira. Bhīmadeva is the 21st on the list and Kadarvī (given as Kardavī) the 24th. Viśravā was the Pradhāna or Prime Minister of the 30th or the last Rājā of the dynasty named Kśemaka whom he killed, and ascending the throne became the founder of the next dynasty. The name Śātadūrva or Śākhādūrva does not appear in this list, but that in the Bhāgavata gives the name Dūrva as the 21st monarch, and son of Rājā Nripanjaya. Viṣṇu Purāṇa gives the name of the son and successor of Nripanjaya as Mridu. The words "Śātadūrva" and "Śākhādūrva" each means "delicate as a blade of grass" and may be taken as synonymous with "mridu" which also means "delicate". The name "Dūrva" as given in Bhāgavata is evidently an abbreviation of the name Śākhādūrva or Śātadūrva.

As to seal B it is possible the legend showed the name "Vriṣṇimán", who was the 10th Raja according to Viṣṇupurāṇa and 12th according to Bhāgavata in the Pāṇḍava dynasty. Of the five seals, C was therefore the most recent as belonging to the first Rājā of the dynasty succeeding the Pāṇḍava dynasty. Taking 30 years as an average period for each of the 29 Rajas after Yudhiṣṭhira, and 1900 B. C. as the date of the accession of Parikṣita the date of the seal C works out to 1030 B.C., the other seals being of earlier date.

The above proves conclusively the existence in India of an alphabet based on a pictograph, which lingered on to the 10th century B.C. or probably longer. As said before, this was named Devanāgarī after the formation of the Brāhmī. This view is corroborated by the following facts in connection with the alphabet of the seals:

(1) The K of the seals  appears to be the prototype of the क in the present Devanāgarī.

(2) The m of the seals is the same as m used in the word Om written in the present Devanāgarī characters.

(3) The "reph" (r preceding a letter) is added after the letter which precedes, as in the present Devanāgarī.

Conclusion.

It only remains now to recapitulate the conclusions arrived at. These are that India, or at least the Aryan India to which these investigations relate, has been in possession of the art of writing for times immemorial. The Aryans when they came to India, about 4000 B. C., crossing the Himalayas, brought with them a pictograph, which was developed here into a pictorial alphabet by about 22nd century B. C. About 1700 B. C., this alphabet was superseded by the Bráhmī alphabet which was very scientific both as regards arrangement and forms of its letters. This was designed by the Indians themselves, and was the origin of all the known alphabets of the world, leaving the Egyptian. The old pictorial alphabet also lingered on under the name Devanāgarī up to 1000 B. C., or perhaps later.

The Aryan pictograph was introduced in Southern India much earlier by some Central Asiatic tribe which came by the sea and settled here. It may be possible to trace out the origin of the old Southern scripts to this pictograph.

The theories so far advanced as regards the date of introduction of writing in India and its origin from the Semitic alphabets are all without any real basis.

VII.—The Last Campaign of Aurangzib, 1705.

By Jadunath Sarkar.

I.—The Country and the People.

The country extending east of Bijapur city, and enclosed by the Bhima and the Krishna rivers, is the home of the Berads, a race of aboriginal Kanarese, also called Dhedds, and regarded as one of the lowest in the scale of Hindu castes. They are a virile and hardy people, not much advanced from savagery, but at the same time not toned down like the over-refined upper castes of Hindu society. They eat mutton, beef, pork, domestic fowls, etc., and drink to excess. Dark, muscular, and of middle height, with round faces, flat cheeks, thin lips and lank or frizzled hair, the Berads can bear fatigue and hardship, but have no taste for settled industry or peaceful arts. Their race name in Kanarese means "hunter", and while devoted to field sports of all kinds, they are also adepts in lawless pursuits, and often engage in organized crimes, such as dacoity and cattle-lifting, etc., in which they take a pride. Their religion still consists of primitive superstitions and spirit-worship, though outwardly most of them profess to be Lingayets and some Vaishnav Hindus. Their tribal organization under the heads of families and the judicial authority of their hereditary headmen ensured discipline and solidarity among them, and they supplied the most steady and accurate musketeers of south India in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; Tipu Sultan's famous infantry was mostly composed of these people. According to their own story, the founder of their tribe pleased the god Shiva by his devotion and gained from him the two blessings that his descendants would be sure shots and their lands would grow corn without much labour or water. Hence, the Berads have

been good marksmen and they grow only the spring crops which require little water or care.

Their gallantry in war and contempt for wounds and death were as conspicuous as their skill in making night attacks and surprises,—which we might naturally expect from such expert cattle-stealers. Indeed, their repeated victories over the regular troops of the Mughal empire in Aurangzib's reign led contemporary Persian historians to call them *Be-dar* (fearless) by a play on their name. [K. K. ii. 524; *Dil.* ii. 1506.]¹

II.—The Shorapur Nayak Family.

The cradle-land of the Berads was Mysore, from which they advanced into the Raichur doab and then further north into the country beyond the Krishna and even the Bhima. We are here concerned only with the Berad Nayaks or chieftains of Shorapur, lying in the fork between the Krishna and the Bhima. Their earliest capital was Sagar, some 72 miles east of Bijapur city. When this was lost to the Mughals (1637), the Nayak built a new capital at Wagingera, twelve miles south-west of Sagar. At the close of Aurangzib's reign even this fort was taken from him, and the Nayak removed his seat to Shorapur, on the eastern face of the same hill-mass as Wagingera and four miles from it. Here the last of their princes, though brought up by Colonel Meadows Taylor with fatherly care, joined the Sepoy Mutiny, and when captured and sentenced to confinement shot himself dead (1858). With him the line ended.

The Berad principality is now included in the Nizam's territory, but in the seventeenth century it was a vassal State of the kings of Bijapur. Pam Nayak,² its ruler, had loyally helped his sovereign Adil Shah during Aurangzib's siege of Bijapur (1686), and six years earlier had inflicted a crushing defeat on the Mughal general Dilir Khan. But in November 1687 he had been attacked by an imperial army under Khanazad Khan

¹ Meadows Taylor's *Story of My Life*, 3rd, ed., 144, 210—313. *Bombay Gazetteer*, XXI. 163, XXIII. 91.

² This name is given variously in *M. A.—Padam* (p. 239), *Pam* (490 and 491), and *Pid* (264, 304 and 305). The *Dilkeasha* calls him *Pam* (85a).

and forced to give up his kingdom and fort of Sagar and visit Aurangzib's Court at Bijapur, where he died in a few days.

The position of the Berad country, midway between Bijapur and Golkond, and the martial but predatory character of its people made it very necessary for Aurangzib to keep it under his control. Bijapur is only 72 miles west, the rich and holy city of Kulbarga is 50 miles to the north, and the important strategic post of Malkhed (the gate to the Haidarabad kingdom) is some 45 miles north-east of Sagar. The whole of the country bounded by these three towns, and even Bidar (60 miles north-east of Kulbarga) and Raichur (in the south, across the Krishna), lay within easy range of the raids of these unsubdued savages. Having lost their dominion at the surrender of 1687, their chiefs had now no resource left to them except to rebel, build new strongholds among the hills, and rob the Mughal territory around in imitation of the Marathas and afterwards in concert with them. The examples of the profitable defiance of the imperial power set by Dhanu Jadav and Santa Ghorpare were not lost upon the Berad leaders. The Kulbarga district was kept in constant disturbance and the roads were closed to caravans by persistent but elusive bands of Berad horsemen for many years after the fall of Sagar. [*Akbarat.*]

III.—Pidia Nayak's Career after 1687.

Pidia Nayak the nephew and adopted heir of Pam Nayak,¹ had waited on Aurangzib as early as 1633 and been given a post in the imperial army. After the Mughal conquest of Sagar and the death of his uncle, he rendered useful service at Ruhullah Khan's siege of Raichur (1689). On the fall of that fort, he went to his home on a week's leave to replenish his equipment and quota of troops. But instead of returning to his post as promised, he busied himself in fortifying Wagingera and raising an army. After the loss of Sagar, the families of the Berad Nayak and his

¹*M.A.* says on page 239 that it was Pam (misspelt Padam) and on page 491 that it was Pam's nephew *Pidia* who paid this visit. *Pidia* is called the *biradarzada* *pisar-i-khanda* of Pam (page 491). *Dilkasha* (ii 95b) wrongly calls *Pidia* the son of *Pām*.

nobles had taken refuge in the village of Wagingera, twelve miles west of it. Their houses stood on a hill which Pidia now enclosed with fortifications and to which he added a walled village on a lower level. He collected twelve thousand excellent musketeers of his tribesmen and steadily increased his artillery and munitions of war. "While outwardly conducting himself as a loyal subject and paying revenue to the Emperor, he gradually collected money and men. By strengthening the defences of the town (Wagingera) and increasing cultivation in its neighbourhood, he acquired power and authority, became the chief ally of the Marathas in robbery and rebellion, and dispossessed Pam Nayak's own son Jagia. The latter appealed to the Emperor for his patrimony," and took from him a sanad of succession, but could not get possession of the zamindari." [*M. A.* 491—2, K. K. ii. 525—26.]

IV.—Early Mughal Campaigns against Pidia.

Pidia's robberies in the Kulbarga district became too serious to be neglected any longer. At last, on 27th May 1691 the Emperor sent his son Kam Bakhsh from Bijapur, in charge of Bahramand Khan, to attack Wagingera. Three weeks later, another high commander, Hamiduddin Khan, was deputed to the Sagar district, evidently to keep in check the roving field armies of the Berads. Kam Bakhsh spent only two months before Wagingera, during which he dug trenches, mounted guns, and fought almost daily conflicts with the enemy. On 20th July he was sent off to the Madras Karnatak, and the operations against the Berads were entrusted to Ruhullah Khan. [*M. A.* 339-40, 344, 354-55; *Dil.* ii. 1026]. The latter "could not achieve the task; the Berads twice fell on his entrenchment and destroyed it; many on the Mughal side were slain, including the celebrated Kanmast Khan.¹ So Ruhullah Khan opened negotiations with the enemy." This was exactly what Pidia was seeking. It was not in his interests to carry the

¹Brother of Khizr Khan Pani of Bijapur. He had been created Bahadur Khan in 1683 (*M. A.* 235). Had defeated Shivaji in 1679.

contest to an extreme. He bribed Ruhullah and lulled him into inactivity. [*Dil.* ii. 103a ; *M. A.* 491.]

After five months Ruhullah was recalled and Azam sent to relieve him (18th December 1691). This prince stayed there for a year, ravaging the country and checking Berad activities. Pidia then submitted, appealed to the prince's mercy, presented him with two lakhs of rupees and made peace with the Emperor by paying an indemnity of seven lakhs and promising to remain as an obedient subject and pay the revenue regularly. But in December 1692 the critical situation at Jinji compelled the Emperor to remove Azam from Sagar to Kadapa in order to support the Karnatak expedition, and Pidia soon afterwards resumed his old brigandage and usurpation of land. When Firuz Jang was sent against him (April 1696),¹ he "played the same jackal's trick on him" and escaped destruction by promising a tribute of nine lakhs. [*M. A.* 345, 492 ; *K. K.* ii. 526.]

V.—Aurangzib marches against Pidia Nayak.

Thereafter, for nine years the Emperor was too deeply entangled with the Marathas to attend to the Berads, and Pidia resumed his raids and extension of territory without fear or hindrance.

At last, towards the close of the year 1704, after the great Maratha forts of Satara and Parli, Panhala and Vishalgarh, Kondana and Torna had all been captured, the Emperor turned to Wagingera, as Pidia was now menacing the city of Bijapur itself. [*Dil.* ii. 149b.] Arriving before the fort on 8th February 1705, he laid siege to it. Chin Qalich Khan, the subadar of Bijapur, in whose jagir the Berad country lay, took up his position half-a-mile from the fort with Muhammad Amin Khan, Tarbiyat Khan (Mir Atish), and the officers of the imperial artillery. Aurangzib's tents were pitched two miles from the walls.

¹ Z. S. Also *Akhbarat*, R. A. S. M. S. year 40, under 6th and 10th May 1695. He captures a *garhi* named Samal or Chamal from these highway robbers.

VI.—Fort and Environs of Wagingera described.

Wagingera¹ stands on the western crest of the same short range on the eastern extremity of which Shorapur was built in later times. The hill here is about 250 feet high above the plain, and the fort is an irregular pentagon with seven bastions along its length. The fortifications are neither striking nor elaborate. In certain places the natural granite rock rising abruptly from the ground forms the only defence, but on the lower sides of the hill boulders have been utilized by connecting them with a wall $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet thick and composed of large irregular stones cemented together. The denuded tops present the spectacle of strange *tors* and huge piles of rocks. The old gate, named after Ram, faces the south-east and is eleven feet by nine. But after Aurangzib's conquest of the place another gate of nearly the same size was built in the western wall by his order, and an inscription records its completion by Hafiz Masaud on 1st Rajab 1117 A.H. (8th October 1705).

On the plain in the south, facing the fort gate, there is a village called *Talwagera*, enclosed by a mud wall and containing the market for the supply of the garrison. Close to it was *Dhedpura*, a hamlet of grass huts, where the families of the common Berads lived and from which they tilled the surrounding lands. These three were the only inhabited places there; but close to the fort in the east and north were a number of hillocks which would be of great service to besiegers. One of these, called *Lal Tikri* from its red soil, slightly commanded a portion of Wagingera itself and had a very important bearing on the defence of that fort. The Berads had not thought of protecting any of these outlying eminences by redoubt or outpost.

The strength of Wagingera lay not so much in its natural position or artificial defences, as in the courage and number of its

¹ Description based on *Dil.* ii. 153a; *M.A.* 499; Meadows Taylor, 123; Framroz Jang's *Shorapur*. A smaller fort was built on a neighbouring hill 5,000 feet apart, at a later date, by Nishti Irana, but it is now totally in ruins.

garrison, the deadly accuracy of their musketry fire, and its ample supply of guns, rockets and artillery munitions. In addition to the famous *Kala-pindis* or Berad foot-musketeers, Pidia had engaged some four thousand active cavalry, both Hindu and Muhammadan, including many Sayyids of the Deccan (to the intense abhorrence of the pious Muslim Aurangzib).

The siege began early in February 1705. Tarbiyat Khan (Chief of Artillery), Chin Qalish Khan, Hamid-ud-din Khan (a favourite of the Emperor and a very experienced fighter) and other officers began to throw up two high platforms and to run covered approaches from a position facing the gate of the fort. Prince Kam Bakhsh's contingent co-operated with them. [*Dil.* ii. 150*b*.] But, for many weeks the Mughals could do nothing. As the Court historian writes, "Every day the enemy sallied forth and attacked the imperialists. Great fights were fought. The big guns from the top of the hill raised the tumult of slaughter; rockets followed each other with vehement force." (*M.A.* 498.) This bombardment continued incessantly and made the advance of the Mughal trenches, or even their maintenance within range of the fort guns, impossible.¹

VII.—Lal Tikri taken and lost by Mughals.

One morning while the Mughal generals were out reconnoitring for weak points in the defences, they suddenly charged up Lal Tikri, drove away the Berad musketeers on its top and seized the position. But it was impossible for them to dig themselves in on that rocky height. Moreover, its capture was made on a sudden impulse, without any preconceived plan for sending up a supporting force, sappers and miners and trenching materials, or the co-operation of the other wings of the army in diverting the enemy from this hill. The Berads immediately sent there large bodies of their infantry, who swarmed up the hillside "numberless like ants and locusts," and plied their muskets and hurled stones with deadly accuracy on the imperialists crowded

¹ History of the siege in *M.A.* 498—506; *Dil.* ii. 150*a*—153*a*; K.K. I, 527—538 (a mere secondary compilation).

helplessly on the top. The Mughals began to fall back by the way they had come, and even reinforcements, tardily sent by Kam Bakhsh and Asad Khan, failed to restore the battle. The narrow crest and side of Lal Tikri were so much encumbered with dead horses, elephants and men that these fresh troops could not reach the spot; they only added to the crowd and confusion on the hillside. The position had at last to be abandoned after heavy losses.

The Emperor disapproved of the plan of making another attempt on Lal Tikri, and ordered his generals to attack Wagin-gera from some other side. That day, while Chin Qalich and Muhammad Amin were riding out to select suitable places for trenching, a cannon ball from the fort killed the horses of both, but the riders were unhurt.

The Mughal trenches started from a spot between Lal Tikri and the hillock opposite Talwargera, while an outpost was established under Muhammad Amin Khan between Lal Tikri and these trenches, to guard against enemy attacks from that hill. The hillock facing Talwargera¹ was occupied by Kam Bakhsh's troops and another mound near by was held by Baqar Khan, both being subjected to daily attacks of the enemy, but checking their advance and thus safeguarding the siege trenches. The Mughals now seemed to be fairly on the road to success.

VIII.—Arrival of Marathas.

But a new enemy now appeared to dash down their hopes and nullify their efforts. On 8th March a Maratha force of five to six thousand horse under Dhana Jadav and Hindu Rao (brother of Santa Ghorpare) arrived near the fort to support their Berad allies, because the families of many Maratha generals had taken refuge there while Aurangzib had been capturing their own strongholds in Maharashtra.

¹ The hillock occupied "for a time" by Kam Bakhsh's men is called in *M.A.* "the conquered hillock," which Khafi Khan takes to mean Lal Tikri. But we know that the Mughals were dislodged from this Lal Tikri the very day they surprised it, and also that it was in Berad possession when Nusrat Jang arrived there later. So, I take it that Talwargera, the hillock opposite the *peti*, is meant here.

The first task of the Marathas was to remove these families safely from this fort, whose fall they believed to be certain, as not even the most powerful forts of Shivaji had been able to withstand Aurangzib's assault. [*M. A.* 500.] While the main body of the new comers kept the imperialists in play by a noisy feint against the siege lines in front of the fort, assisted by a heavy fire from the walls, another body of 2,000 picked troopers brought their women and children out by the back-door of Wagingera, mounted them on swift mares, and escaped, their rear being guarded by a body of infantry that sallied out of the fort.

Pidia had promised the Marathas a daily subsidy of several thousand rupees as long as they would assist in the defence of his capital, but they advised him to make terms with the Emperor, as resistance to him was vain. The Berad chief, however, continued to subsidise and feed them, and they halted in the neighbourhood, and made frequent attacks on the Mughals. Though no decisive action took place and the Marathas retired from the field every evening, the imperialists suffered much loss and their hearts were shaken.

The Mughal army itself was now thrown into a state of siege. Its activities ceased and it was confined to its own lines. "Though a strong wall had been raised round the imperial camp, the enemy used to make sorties every night and fire rockets and muskets into the camp, thus reducing the men there to extreme distress, so that no one could step outside. Grain and fodder became extremely scarce in the camp. The Emperor censured his generals, but it had no effect. They were distracted on seeing the enemy's large number and their own dangerous situation." [*Dil.* ii. 1506.]

IX.—False Peace Proposals by Pidia Nayak.

Pidia, as advised by his Maratha allies and also following his old policy, made proposals of submission to the Emperor. Aurangzib appeared to welcome these negotiations, but his real object was to gain time and call up heavy reinforcements from far and near for a supreme effort.

Abdul Ghani, a glib-tongued lying Kashmiri pellar, who used to hawk his wares in the camp and secretly in the fort too, one day brought to Hedayet-kesh (the chief of the imperial Intelligence Department) a letter from Pidia proposing peace, and told a story of his having gone near the fort wall to say his evening prayer when some Berads had suddenly seized him and taken him inside, where their chieftain had entrusted him with the letter. Aurangzib failed to detect the enemy's trick and the Kashmiri's worthless character; he gave a favourable reply to the letter and nominated his son Kam Bakhsh as mediator in the negotiations, so that in the official proclamations and histories the credit for gaining Wagingera might be recorded in that prince's name. Pidia next sent his brother Som Singh to the Mughal camp, offering to give up the fort and asking that the zamindari, the headship of the clan, and a *mansab* might be granted to his brother. Muhtasam Khan, an officer then living in the camp without employment and a debtor to the Kashmiri, was requested by Pidia to be sent in to take delivery of Wagingera. He was given a *mansab* by the Emperor and was admitted into the fort with some men, while Som Singh stayed in the camp and spread the tale that Pidia had turned mad and fled with the Marathas. The Kashmiri next brought a message from the Berad chief's mother repeating this story and begging that Som Singh might now be allowed to return and undertake the management of his estate, while the fort would be vacated in seven days. The Emperor sent Som Singh back with a *mansab*, a robe of honour and an elephant for himself and some jewels for his mother. And Abdul Ghani, the great maker of this glorious treaty, was created a commander of 300 horse! "The fire from the trenches ceased, and the generals were recalled from their posts to the Emperor's camp." [M. A. 502.]

And then the bubble burst. The whole thing was a fraud. Pidia was alive and sane and still within the fort; he refused to surrender it and renewed his attacks. The Emperor almost went mad with rage and shame.

X.—Nusrat Jang's Vigorous Operations.

Meanwhile he had summoned his ablest generals from all sides,—Nusrat Jang (the captor of Jinji and Raigarh), Daud Khan Pani (the wild Afghan fighter) and many brave qiladars and faujdars with their choicest troops. These arrived about the middle of April.

The day after his arrival Nusrat Jang rode out in full force to reconnoitre the fort,—Dalpat Rao's Bundelas forming his van and Ram Singh Hada's clansmen guarding his rear. After viewing the gate of Wagingera, he went to the side where two mounds were held by the imperialists, and galloped up to the hillock of Lal Tikri from which the Mughals had been dislodged in the early days of the siege. The Berads in a large body offered him battle, firing at him from behind the boulders. Nusrat Jang charged them, climbed the hill, and drove out the enemy, who ran into the village of Talwargera at its foot, and began to ply their muskets from behind its mud wall. Many Rajputs fell in the attack on Lal Tikri and outside the village. Rao Dalpat on his elephant came to the van and, with the blind impetuosity of a true Rajput, wanted to storm the village, though it was walled round and held by such good shots. But Nusrat Jang turned away the hot-headed Bundela to a neighbouring hillock which was still in the enemy's hands. Here, too, many Rajputs, with only sword and spear, blindly advanced to the very edge of the fort ditch, only to be shot down by the garrison. Fifty Rajputs were slain and more than a hundred wounded in this part of the field; their loss in horses also was very great. "Most of the Rajputs now turned aside to pick up their dead and wounded brethren, and Dalpat was left with a very slender force, but he bravely went to the right wing of the Khan where the fighting was then hottest. The enemy fled from the second mound too and hid in the village of Dhedpura. On this day twenty-one bullets and one rocket hit Dalpat Rao's elephant. The historian Bhimsen, sitting behind him on the same elephant, was struck by some

musket shots, but his armour saved him. Even the driver of the elephant was wounded, though clad in steel. The banners of Nusrat Jang were pitted with shot-holes like a crocodile's hide, and two of his elephant drivers were wounded and one killed. Similarly, there were heavy casualties in the centre and rear of the Mughal general's force.' [Dil. ii. 152a.] Jamshid Khan of Bijapur was killed by a cannon ball, but Nusrat Jang kept hold of the position he had gained with so much blood near the wall. Hamid-ud-din Khan, Tarbiyat Khan and other officers were pushed up by the Emperor to strengthen the point won here, while Chin Qalich Khan guarded the line of communications from behind some hillocks between Lal Tikri and the Emperor's camp.

Next day Nusrat Jang rode to the back of the fort to select a site for his own trenches. A large enemy force attacked him, but was defeated with heavy loss and driven back to the hill by Dalpat Rao. A few days later the Khan captured some wells situated on the skirt of the hill whence the enemy used to draw their water; he then strengthened the position in front of the gate by entrenching and mounting guns on the two hillocks in front of the gate which were now in Mughal hands. Under the protection of walls of bags and head-covers¹ his men advanced and made a lodgement close to the fort wall. The Berads now offered submission with greater earnestness than before, but Nusrat Jang, without heeding their words, delivered an assault on Talwargera on 27th April. His own contingent under Daud Khan, Dalpat Rao, and Ram Singh Hada, with imperial troops under Hamid-ud-din, Tarbiyat and some other generals, formed two parallel columns of attack, while he stood on horseback to support them from behind. The imperialists eagerly charged on foot. The enemy fought while fleeing, but could not stop

¹ M. A. 503 reads * رښځون ګڼېا ښځون ښځون ښځون ښځون ښځون

The reading ښځون would give "sacks" [full of earth]. *Katgarhā* would mean stockades.

the onset. The Mughals entered the *petk* (walled village), slaying all who resisted, and the rest fled. The village was thereafter firmly held in the teeth of a hot fire from the fort above it.

XI.—Berads evacuate Wagingera.

The Berads now found that further struggle was hopeless. Stationing a body of musketeers to keep firing on the Mughals outside the front gate all the day, Pidia fled out of the back-door at night, "with the Maratha companions of his day of adversity."

When night came and the sound of musketry from within died down, some Mughal soldiers entered the fort to find out the true state of things. They saw the place entirely deserted. Then began the wild scene of confusion, rapine and burning which is always witnessed whenever an enemy fort is entered by soldiers and camp followers in the absence of any commanding officer and a strong police guard. The few imperialists who were first within Wagingera set fire to the houses.¹

The flames were visible for miles around, proclaiming the fall of the enemy's stronghold. Daud Khan and some other nobles verified the fact of Pidia's flight; they did not remain in the fort that night, but went to Nusrat Jang's tents to congratulate him on the final success of his operations.

It was well that they went outside. For, at the news of the fort being vacated, there was a wild rush of camp followers, common soldiers and all the ruffians of the camp, in the hope of plunder before the Government agents should come and attach the property. The fire from the burning roofs spread to a powder magazine, and there was a terrible explosion. "Many people were blown up into the air, and their corpses could not be found. After two or three days, a second magazine exploded." [*Dil.* ii. 153a.]

¹ *Dilkasha* (eye-witness). But *M. A.* says that the Berad rearguard of musketeers set fire to their houses and property in the evening, before leaving the fort. (Unlikely.)

Wagingera was captured, but its chieftain had escaped and lived to give trouble to the victors. Thus, all Aurangzib's labours for these three months were lost. Nusrat Jang and his lieutenant Dalpat Rao were suspected by the Emperor of collusive help in the flight of Pidia, and they fell into disgrace, getting rewards quite inadequate for such a glorious feat and being soon afterwards sent away to a distance to punish rebels and guard the road.¹

XII.—Causes of the decay of the Mughal military power.

The history of the siege of Wagingera,—the last military undertaking of the great Emperor Aurangzib, with all the resources of the empire of Delhi at his command,—supplies a painful illustration of the utter decline and weakness of the great State which Akbar had founded and Shah Jahan had carried to the highest pitch of wealth and splendour. The contemporary historian, Bhimsen Burhanpuri, in his *Nuskha-i-Dilkasha*, tries to account for this decline in the following way:—

“At this time, from the Narmada [southwards] throughout the entire kingdom of the Deccan, Khandesh and Berar, and Konkan, in every pargana and village, [nay] in every place, Marathas have spread like ants and locusts. They never assembled like this in the days of the former subadars. Let me write how these lawless men and Marathas have appeared. The fact is that the Deccan was conquered by Jahangir and Shah Jahan. Every kingdom that was conquered [by them] was entrusted to a high grandee at the head of a large force, who

¹ *Dil* ii. 158 a and b. The official history, however, conceals the fact and represents that the Khan and all his followers were promptly and highly rewarded. [*M.A.* 505, 506.] But Tarbiyat Khan and the imperial eunuchs even, who, on the showing of this very official history, had done absolutely nothing at the siege, were lavishly rewarded for the fall of Wagingera, while the real captors got only modest promotions and gifts. Nusrat Jang had acquired a bad name at Jinji for collusion with the enemy.

Abbreviations.—*M. A.* (*Masir-i-Alamgiri*), K. K. (Khafi Khan),—both in the Biblio. Indica series; *Dil.* (*Nuskha-i-Dilkasha*, British Museum Ms. Or 28); *Z. S.* (*Zedheyanchi Shakavali* in Marathi, printed at Poona.)

could control the country properly: To-day there are no such *amirs*. Therefore, it is necessary to get great tasks done by *mansabdars* with small contingents. In every district, the lawless men disregard the petty *faujdars* and have grown stronger. The *faujlars*, afraid to undergo the fatigue and dangers of campaigning, regard it as a great gain to sit down at one place, and have entered into an understanding with these rebels. This has made the wretches more fierce. In the fort and territory of Bijapur one and a half lakhs of troopers used to be kept ready, and in Haidarabad 80,000. But now at each of these places not more than three or four thousand men are stationed. The *mansabdars*, on account of the small forces at their disposal, cannot gain control over these kingdoms, granted to them in jagir (*tankhwa*). The *zamindars*, getting stronger, have joined the Marathas, raised troops, and extended the hand of oppression on the kingdom. The *zamindars* being so, not a pice can reach the *jagirdars* [from their jagirs]. Such being the unprotected state of the newly conquered countries, what shall I write about the older provinces [of the empire]? The agents (*gunashtas*) of the *jagirdars*, in fear of the Court accountants,—who under every possible pretext and in every way impose dues (*mutaliba*), unrealised advances (*musaidat*), fines and other *abwabs* [on the *jagirdars*],—and because they do not hope for being retained in the same jagir a second year, have utterly discarded the practice of cherishing the peasantry and maintaining authority. When the *jagirdar* sends his administrator (*amil*), he by reason of his poverty first takes from the latter some money under the name of loan; and the *amil* on reaching the jagir does not hesitate in the least to exact money by oppression, as he fears lest some other *amil* by paying a larger amount as ‘loan’ would come there to supersede him! Some of the peasants are willing to pay the proper rent, but they have not the means of doing it on account of the enemy’s pillage.

The Emperor, learning that the Marathas were in concert with the cultivators of the imperial dominions, gave orders that wherever arms and horses were found in any village they were to

be seized by the Government. As this happened in many villages, the peasants, collecting arms and horses, joined the Marathas. There is no limit to the oppression of *faujdars*, *deshmukhs* and zamindars, who extort money from the peasants under every possible pretext; moreover, men were appointed to collect the *peshkash* (tribute or present) imposed upon the zamindars by the Emperor,—or were sent to all places for securing provisions for the imperial armies, and this caused untold extortion, because the zamindars paid not a pice from their own purses, but realised the whole amount from the *ryots*. What shall I write about the violence and wickedness of the *amins* appointed to collect the *jizya*, which are beyond description? They collect *krors* and pay into the public treasury only a small portion of them. As the imperial dominions have been given out in *tankhwa* to the jagirdars, so the Marathas have distributed all the empire among their own generals, and thus one kingdom has two sets of jagirdars.—Robbers increase—cultivation declines—the Mughal officers holding jagirs starve and cannot maintain their due contingents”. [138b—140b.]

Again, on page 146a, he describes how official corruption caused popular suffering, and on page 149b the financial difficulties caused by the devastation of the Deccan.

The defeat of the imperial forces is thus accounted for [150b] :—“ Our immature generals, out of greed of money and meanness of spirit, do not enlist men of high families whose fathers and grand-fathers had been soldiers. Instead of such men they mount their slaves on horses and bring them to the field as soldiers. Flight is the [only] work of these.”

VIII.—Slavery in the Jātakas.

By Shivanath Basu, M.A., Professor of History, G. B. B. College, Muzaffarpur.

The celebrated Greek ambassador Megasthenes tells us that in ancient India there were no slaves. The Jātakas, however, contain innumerable instances which clearly prove that the institution formed a feature of ancient Indian society.

Slaves male and female are ordinarily mentioned in the Jātakas, by the terms *dāsa* and *dāsi*. The Vidhurapaṇḍita-Jātaka tells us that there were four different kinds of slaves :—“Some are slaves from their mothers, others are slaves bought for money, some come of their own will as slaves, others are slaves driven by fear.” (No. 545). It is clear then that at the time of the Jātakas there were four different kinds of slaves—those bought for money, those who became so voluntarily, those descended from slaves and those who became so by fear. Nearly all these are represented in our texts. References to the possibility of *purchasing slaves* for only 100 kahapanas are numerous. In the Sattubhastā-Jātaka we have an instance of a Brahmin being sent away by his sinful wife to beg money wherewith to purchase her a female slave. We are told in the Nimi-Jātaka that Birāṇi, a Brahmin's *home-born slave*, was rewarded in the life after death for showing hospitality to a stranger. Again we read in the Vessantara-Jātaka that Vessantara made a gift of his daughter and son to the Brahmin of Kāliṅga. The Kaṭāhaka-Jātaka states that on the day the Bodhisatta's wife gave birth to a son, a female slave in his house gave birth to a boy who as he grew up along with his master's son learnt to read and write and in course of time was employed by the Bodhisatta as his secretary. In the Khaṇḍahāla-Jātaka we have a suggestive reference to *persons becoming slaves voluntarily and out of*

fear. We are told that when Ekarājā, King of Benares, gave orders for sacrificing his merchant princes, they lamenting bitterly begged the king to enslave them but to spare their lives. It appears that *captives and prisoners of war also could be and were enslaved.* The Mahāsutasoma-Jātaka tells us that when the man-eater (Brahmadatta of Benares) promised to grant four boons to Sutasoma, the latter prayed for the restoration of kings captured by Brahmadatta to their kingdoms because he was afraid that Brahmadatta "would either enslave them all or would bring them to the border country and sell them as slaves." We read in the Cullanārada-Jātaka that in the reign of Brahmadatta the king of Benares the borderers raided the countryside and having assailed a town and taken prisoners they returned to the border laden with booty. Amongst the prisoners was a beautiful maiden who thought to herself "These men, when they have carried us off home, will use us as slaves; I must find some way to escape." We have also references to *persons being deprived of their freedom as judicial punishment and reduced to slavery.* We read in the Kulāvaka-Jātaka that the village headman who had slandered the Bodhisatta and his followers was condemned by the king not only to lose all his property but also his freedom. "The king gave them all the wealth in the slanderer's house and made him their slave." Elsewhere in the Mahāummagga-Jātaka we are told that when Mahosadha exposed the four ministers of the king who out of jealousy for Mahosadha had secured an order for his death the king got angry and ordered that they should be impaled and put to death. As they were dragged along Mahosadha said "My lord, these are your ancient ministers pardon them their fault." The king consented and gave them to be his slaves.

The distinctive mark of a slave seems to have been a shaven head with a topknot coil. In the Khandahala-Jātaka already referred to the merchants prayed the king to enslave them, leaving the topknot.

"Leave but the topknot, shave our heads,
Make us thy slaves but spare our lives."

It was easy enough to purchase slaves. They could be purchased even for 100 pieces. In the Nanda-Jātaka Sāriputta tells the Buddha "Sir, a co-resident of mine is in one place like a slave bought for a 100 pieces." Again in the Durājāna-Jātaka we read "On days when she did wrong, she was as meek as a slave girl bought for a 100 pieces." It seems probable that the price of a slave could be paid either in cash or in kind. In the Vessantara-Jātaka we find Jūjaka telling his wife--

"How can I buy a slave? I have no craft, no corn, no pelf." When a person was given away as a slave water was generally poured upon the right hand as a symbol of donation (*dakkhiṇodakam*). The Jātaka above referred to tells us that after Vessantara had given away his son and daughter to Jūjaka, Sakka to enable him to attain the supreme height of perfection took the shape of a vile creature and begged of Vessantara for his wife Maddi. Vessantara agreed and "quickly he drew water in a pitcher and poured upon his hand, and made over Maddi to the brahmin."

The right of the master over his slave seems to have been absolute. Slaves could rightfully be given away to another. We read in the Asampadāna-Jātaka that the Treasurer of Benares gave away to his friend Piliya the merchant prince of Magadha who had fallen into trouble a number of slaves along with great riches. Again in the Vidhurapaṇḍita-Jātaka we read the Great Being saying to Puṇṇaka, "I verily am a slave from my birth..... he may give me by right to thee, O young man." The right of the master over the slaves did not terminate even if he went to another. The master alone was responsible for his weal and woe. His happiness and his sufferings, his joys and troubles all came from his master. We read in the Vidhurapaṇḍita-Jātaka "My weal and my woe come from the king, I am the king's slave even if I go to another." That the slaves were regarded as something like the chattels of their master is proved by the Vessantara-Jātaka where we find

prince Jālī when given away by his father as slave lamenting in the following strain :

“Life’s nothing to us : let us die ; we are his chattels now,

“ This cruel greedy violent man, who drives us like his cow.”

In the Kāṭāhaka-Jātaka we are told that when the slave Kāṭāhaka fled from his master the latter sent people in quest of him and when he was found out the master asked the king’s permission and started with a great following to bring him back. Another example of a slave who had run away from his master but was hauled back when his whereabouts were discovered is to be found in the Kalanḍuka-Jātaka.

In the Jātakas emancipation of slaves is often referred to. Thus in the Soṇananda-Jātaka we find that a certain Brahmin before he embraced the life of an ascetic disposed of all his wealth in charity and emancipated his slaves. In the Vessantara-Jātaka we find the Great Being setting a price on his children whom he gave away to the Brahmin Jujaka. To his son he said, “Son Jālī, if you wish to become free you must pay the Brahmin a thousand pieces of gold, if your sister would be free let her pay the Brahmin a hundred male and a hundred female slaves with elephants, horses, bulls and gold pieces, all a hundred each.” This points to the inference that sometimes a price was put on persons given as slaves on the payment of which they became freed-men. Slaves were sometimes voluntarily emancipated by their master. The Kāṭāhaka-Jātaka states that when the slave Kāṭāhaka entreated his master not to expose him he was voluntarily made free.

Slaves were generally employed on the ordinary duties of a household, e.g. for fetching water¹, pounding rice², ministering to the master when he retired³, going on errands⁴, helping the master and the mistress during bath⁵, bathing the feet of the master and the family before they retired to bed at night⁶,

¹ Jat. Vol. V. pp. 146, 219.

² Jat. Vol. III. p. 218.

³ Jat. Vol. I. p. 276.

⁴ Jat. Vol. I. p. 198.

⁵ Jat. Vol. I. p. 225.

⁶ Jat. Vol. II I. p. 67.

cleansing the bathing tank, spreading the rice out in the sun¹, handing the plates and dishes, bringing the spittoon and fetching their fans during meals², for sweeping the yards and stables³ and such other duties.

Slaves in ancient India, unlike Helots, were not bound to the soil. They were for the most part like domestic slaves and do not seem to have been very badly treated. Slavery in ancient India, so far as can be judged from the Jātakas, was certainly different from that existing in Greece, Rome and later on in plantations of American slave owners. The sort of treatment which the slaves received in these places was unknown in India in ancient times when the slaves were rather treated as members of the family than as human chattels to be disposed of by the master in any way he pleased. Thus we read in the Uraga-Jātaka, "With a female slave they composed a household of six; the Bodhisatta and his wife, the daughter-in-law and the female slave." We find that slaves often enjoyed their master's confidence, were trusted by them and some times were even appointed as the guardian of his property. We read in the Nanda-Jātaka that the Bodhisatta when he became old went to the forest and buried his riches at a certain spot saying to his slave, "My good Nanda, reveal this treasure to my son after I am gone and do not let the wood to be sold." Occasionally the slaves rose high in their master's favour and were employed on honourable duties. The Kaṭāhaka-Jātaka states that Kaṭāhaka the son of a female slave of a rich treasurer of Benares was employed by him as his private secretary. The slaves, however, occupied a very low position in society, so much so that we find it stated in the Bhaddasāla-Jātaka that the seat which Viḍḍabha, the son of Vāsabbhakhattiyā, Mahānāma's slave girl, had used in the rest-house was washed with milk-water by a slave girl after Viḍḍabha had departed. "Just then a slave woman washed the seat which he had used in the

¹ Jat. Vol. I. p. 300.

³ Jat. Vol. VI. p. 73.*

² Jat. Vol. I. p. 276.

* References are to Cowell's edition (Cambridge University Press).

rest-house with milk-water, saying insultingly, Here's the seat where sat the son of Vasabhakkhattiyā, the slave-girl." Though as a general rule slaves seem to have been well treated they could be beaten, imprisoned, branded and fed on slave's fare and be made to work in chains. There seems, however, reason to believe that they were punished only when they proved recalcitrant or disobeyed their master but that also very rarely. Thus we read in the Nāmasiddhi—Jātaka: "Now a slave girl had been thrown out at the door of a house, while her master and mistress beat her with heavy rope-ends because she had not brought home her wages." This brings us to the reference to slavery made by Mr. Richard Fick in his book. It seems, however, that the learned author has erred. He tells us "that the relation in which the slaves stood to their master is represented as a familiar one and their treatment as quite humane, but all the same the examples quoted do not justify our inferring a specially favourable position for the slaves of ancient India," and why, because occasionally, not certainly frequently, they "had to put up with thrashing, imprisonment, and bad food." But these seem to be very insufficient reasons for saying that the position of slaves in ancient India was not specially favourable in spite of their having been humanely treated. Though we have on the one hand a few stray references that they were sometimes punished we have on the other hand irrefutable evidence that the relationship between the master and his slaves was not only very familiar and kindly but that the treatment of the latter was very humane. The slave in the Uraga Jātaka is not only represented as a member of the family but we are told that all the members, of whom there were six including the slave, "lived happily and affectionately together." And when after the death of the son of the master, the slave girl was told by Sakka that she was not weeping perhaps because she must have been beaten, abused and oppressed by him she replied "Speak not so, my lord, this does not suit his case. My young master was full of long-suffering and love and pity for me and was as a foster child to me." Does it not

indicate that the relationship between the master and his slave was very familiar, very loving and very sympathetic? Of course the slaves were occasionally punished. It is true that they were at times harshly, but never brutally, treated and then also when they refused to carry out the behests of their master. Legally the slaves enjoyed no right and no privilege but we have not a single reference in the Jātakas which proves that the lot of the slaves in ancient India was the same as that of their brethren in Greece or in Italy or in plantations of slave-owners of comparatively recent times. We are nowhere told that the slaves used to work in chains under cruel overseers taking a fiendish delight in exacting "a pound of flesh"; nowhere told that they used to be made over to the beasts of prey for the delectation and amusement of the rich orders of society, as in Italy; nowhere told that a master could kill not more than two slaves daily to refresh his tired nerves in the warm blood and bowels of the victims¹; nowhere told of the fiendish cruelties practised by the slave-owner of America. In ancient India even the chattels were not treated so, knowing as we do that the God-beloved King Piyadasi established hospitals for men as well as for beasts and that so many centuries before the establishment of the first animal hospital in Europe. It is true that the position of the slaves was lowly and humble from its very nature but it was not intolerable nor very miserable. *Dāsiputta*, *Dā iputtacataka* were in fact terms of abuse, indeed they could not have been otherwise. The slave population in ancient India was very small and the slaves were generally employed on work which is done in India of the present day by household servants and occasionally they were employed on honourable duties. The inevitable conclusion is that the position of slaves in ancient India so far as can be judged from the Jātakas was specially favourable as compared with that of the Helots of Sparta, Colonii of Rome, and the slaves of the planters of eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

¹ Carlyle—History of the French Revolution, page 19.

IX.—A Possible Ethnic Basis for the Sanskritic Element in the Munda Languages.

By Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A.

The Muṇḍās of the Chōtā Nāgpur plateau and the other Muṇḍā-speaking tribes—the Santāls, Khāriās, Bhumji, Māhlis, Hōs, Birhōrs, Asurs, Kōṛwas, Kurkus, Kōḍās, Juangs, Savaras, and Gadabas—have been, on anthropometrical grounds, classed as Dravidians. Their languages, however, are quite distinct in structure and vocabulary from the Dravidian languages of the south. Pater Schmidt and Sir George Grierson claim to have established a connexion between the Muṇḍā languages and the Mon-Khmer including Wa, Palaung, Nicobarese, Khāsi, and the aboriginal languages of Malacca and certain dialects of the Australian tribes. And comparative philologists appear to be generally agreed that all these languages “contain a common substratum which cannot be anything else than the language of an old race which was once settled in all those countries.”¹ As to what that race was like, and what became of it we are as yet quite in the dark.

The first thing in the Muṇḍāri vocabulary, however, which impresses a Sanskrit-knowing student is the existence of a large Sanskritic element in it. And it is quite remarkable that even a number of Muṇḍāri words of primary importance denoting things and actions which even the most primitive people cannot do without look like either pure Sanskrit words or clear variations of such words. As the lists of words given in the appendices—which are far from exhaustive—will show, there are Sanskrit analogues for the Muṇḍāri words even for such primary actions and states of mind as ‘eating’ (*jōm*), ‘kissing’ (*chū*), working

¹ Grierson's “Linguistic Survey of India” Vol. IV. page 5.

(*kāmi*), going (*sen*), crying (*rā*), to be happy (*sukū*), and to be sorry (*dukū*); for such primary relations as father (*āpu*), mother (*engā*), son (*hōn*) and brother (*bāu*); for such familiar natural objects as the moon (*chāndu*), stone (*diri*), dew (*sisir-dā*), tree (*dāru*), bamboo (*mād*), *Sāl* (*sirjōm*), mahuā (*madkam*), plantain (*kadal*); for such familiar concepts as a load (*bhārōm*), the country (*disūm*), inside (*biṭar*) and across (*pārom*); for such common objects as a stick (*dāṇḍā*), an arrow (*ar*), a tree bark (*bāklā*), milk (*toyā*) and sacrifice (*dāṇṛe*); for such common animals as pig (*sukuri*), goat (*merom*), frog (*chōkē*) and bullock (*dūmkōm*); for such common and familiar birds as crow (*kāu*), vulture (*gidi*), stork (*bākā*) and peacock (*mārā*); for fishes in general (*hāku*); for such implements and produce of primitive agriculture as the yoke (*arāra*), ploughshare (*phāl*), block-wheel cart (*saṇari*), sickle (*dātrōm*), straw (*busu*), boiled rice (*māṇḍi*), pulse (*dālī*), oil (*sunum*), juice (*rasi*); and for such objects relating to primitive occupations as the smithy (*pasrā*), the small spinning-wheel (*linijum*), thread (*sutam*), buying (*kiring*), selling (*ākiring*), weighing (*tulā*) and loan (*riṇi*).

Words given in the subjoined appendices are either purely Sanskritic in form or look like variations of Sanskrit words seemingly derived mostly from some old Sanskritic dialect or a Prakrit dialect akin to that from which Bengali is derived and in a few instances to that from which Hindi is derived. And the variations which these Sanskrit or Sanskritic words and their analogues in the Munda languages show, appear to have a regular method. It would seem that certain consonants in Sanskrit have their consonantal equivalents in the Munda languages.

These variations of sound would, indeed, appear to yield regular rules of phonetic transition. Thus, as for the mute consonants,¹ it would seem, that in general a medial aspirate in

¹ The Mute Consonants are the following:—

	Labial.	Dental.	Guttural.	Palatal.
Thin	p	t	k	ch.
„ Aspirate	ph	th	kh	chh.
Medial	b	d	g	j.
„ Aspirate	bh	dh	gh	jh.

Sanskrit is transformed into a medial and a thin aspirate into a thin consonant in Muṇḍārī ; a medial in Sanskrit becomes a thin consonant in Muṇḍārī ; and a thin consonant in Sanskrit generally remains unaltered in sound in Muṇḍārī, but is some times changed into an aspirate. Thus these phonetic variations would seem generally to follow Grimm's Law of Consonantal Transition for the Teutonic languages, and so far as analogues in the two languages are concerned, it would seem as if the Muṇḍā languages stand in somewhat the same relation to Sanskrit as the English language stands to Greek or Latin.

In illustration of the transition from the Sanskrit aspirate medial to the Muṇḍārī medial we may cite,—Madhukam (S) and Madkam (M), Gridhra (S) and Gidi (M), and Bhitam (S) and Bōtō (in M); Dhunam (S) and Duān (M); Dhuli (S) and Durā (M); Bhitār (Beng. and H. from S. abhyantara) and Bitar (M), Phārāk (Bengali and Hindi from Sanskrit Prithak) and Parkā (M). In illustration of the transition from the Sanskrit aspirate tennes to the Muṇḍārī tennes, may be cited, Sukham (S) and Suku (M), Dukham (S) and Duku (M), Hāl or Phāl (S) and Pahal (M.).

In illustration of the transformation of a medial in Sanskrit into a tennes in Muṇḍārī, may be cited the words Ābuka (S) and Āpu (M); and dō (S) and ti (M). In illustration of a Sanskrit tennes changing into Muṇḍārī aspirate I may cite, Pariskār (S) and Pharchi (M) (B. Pharsā), Bikrita (S) and Bigrāo-tan (M).

Thus we find traces of a regular law of reciprocity of consonants in Sanskrit and Muṇḍārī. The Muṇḍā languages appear to retain the cerebral sound of Sanskrit ṇ and ḍ, both of which the Bengali language has lost, although many Muṇḍārī words look as if they have been derived from or rather are related to the form of Prākṛit out of which the Bengali language has sprung.

When we consider the transition of vowel sounds, we again find a somewhat definite reciprocity between Sanskrit and the

Munḍā languages. Thus the short 'a' sound in Sanskrit is transformed in Munḍāri into the long 'ā' sound, and sometimes, particularly when occurring in the middle of a word, into the 'ō' sound and at the end of a word into the 'i' sound.

Thus, Sanskrit 'Baka' becomes Munḍāri 'Bakā',
 Sanskrit 'Chhatram' becomes Munḍāri 'Chātōm',
 Sanskrit 'Bhāram' becomes Munḍāri 'B[h]ārōm',
 Sanskrit 'Dutam' becomes Munḍāri 'Dutām',
 Sanskrit 'Madana' becomes Munḍāri 'Mād',
 Sanskrit 'Sukara', becomes Munḍāri 'Sukuri',
 Sanskrit 'Raṇḍa' becomes Munḍāri 'Raṇḍi',
 Sanskrit 'Swara' becomes Munḍāri 'Sāri'.

Instances like these might be multiplied.

A comparison of the Bengali analogues of Munḍāri words (Appendix III) will show that a similar law governs the shifting of sounds between these two languages as well. Instances of deviation from the above rules do occur. But such aberrations, due to accidental disturbances of the usual rule, occur in all languages.

In another paper I shall try to show that although the Mundari language has not yet evolved a regular system of inflexions and may be said to be still in the agglutinative stage, yet in the peculiarities of its grammar, in the formation of its words and the structure of its sentences, it follows somewhat similar principles of language-building as obtain in Sanskrit, and might seem to represent an early stage through which all Aryan speech once passed.

Although it is just likely that in the competition of languages,—in the competition between the language of the more civilized but perhaps less numerous 'Aryan' race and that of the less civilized but more numerous 'Munda' race,—the former may have greatly influenced the vocabulary and to some extent even the grammatical forms of the latter, yet I venture to set down here, for what they are worth, certain surmises—hardly more than mere surmises yet—that a study of the Mundari

language and of the Asur sites of Chota Nagpur suggested themselves, at the first blush, to my mind :—

1. That the 'Asurs' of Munda tradition (*vide The Mundas and Their Country*, pages xx-xxvii) may not improbably be the extinct race whose language forms the substratum of the Munda group of languages.

2. That the 'Asurs' to whom the ancient graveyards and ruins of buildings in Chota Nagpur (*vide* my articles in *J. B. O. R. S.*, Volume I., pages 229-253 and Volume VI. pages 393-423) are attributed were probably the descendants of the pre-Aryan 'Asuras' whose struggles with the Aryan immigrants into the valley of the Five Rivers and of the Ganges and the Jumna are recorded in the *Rig-Veda* and other early Sanskrit works.

3. That these ancient 'Asuras' were probably a 'Hamitic' or Caucasian race who had moved on into India at a more primitive stage of Caucasian culture than that represented by the Vedic Aryans, and on their arrival in India gradually absorbed an indigenous Negritic race (the Nishādas of ancient Sanskrit literature),—the probable manufacturers of the palæoliths and early neoliths found in India—whom they found in occupation of the river valleys, and thus became somewhat transformed in physical features by long continued miscegenation with the Negritic aborigines, and worked out the Asur civilization referred to in the *Rig-Veda*, *Satapatha Brahmana* and other early Sanskrit works. Cognate branches of this pre-Aryan Caucasian Asura race may not improbably have passed on to the North-East, and their trail is perhaps marked by the supulchral and memorial stones still erected by the Khasis, and by certain traces in the Palangwa-Riang group of languages in the Shan States, and the Mon-Khmer group of languages, the languages of the Nicobar-ese, the Sahai and Semang languages of the Malay Peninsula, and the aboriginal languages of Malacca, and in certain Australian dialects.

4. That being finally worsted by the invading Aryans, the Indian branch of the 'Asurs' retreated eastwards and south-eastwards, one section moving south and south-east and taking

shelter in the hills and jungles of what are now Chota Nagpur and the Orissa Feudatory States where traditions about the tall-statured ancient Asurs still linger.

A section of the race probably got absorbed in the then indigenous population of what is now Bengal and perhaps account for such tribes or castes as the Pods, Bagdis, etc. And a strain of Asur blood may perhaps be also traced in certain other and higher sections of modern Bengalis as certain vestiges of 'Asura' speech may be traced in modern Bengali speech.

5. That later, these Indian Asuras in their last trenches in the hilly country of Chota Nagpur, Orissa states and the Central Provinces were finally overpowered by and absorbed in intrusive short-statured Dravidian hordes pouring in from the South in successive waves either owing to pressure from invading Aryans from the North or from economic pressure or both. The Munḍā tradition says that for sometime the Asurs and their own ancestors lived side by side but later the iron-smelting activities of the Asurs so frightened them that they sought the help of their God Singbonga who in the form of a Munḍā boy destroyed the male population of the Asurs by a statagem.

6. That the language of their once powerful Asur opponents and neighbours and in some cases of their Asur mothers, modified to some extent by their own Dravidian languages particularly in pronunciation, is the present language of the Munda-speaking tribes with their various dialects.

Among considerations that suggest these surmises the following may also be noted :—

(1) The references to the Asuras in the Rig Veda and other early Sanskrit literature would seem to indicate that the Asurs—

(a) knew the use of copper ('Ayas' of the Rig Veda though formerly understood as meaning 'iron' has been taken by Mr. Vincent Smith and some other scholars to mean 'copper') ;

(b) were great builders and had cities and forts of their own ;

(c) were 'worshippers of the phallic emblem' (*śiśnadeva* of the Rig Veda);

(2) The Asuras of the Chota Nagpur 'Asur sites' had brick buildings, copper weapons and ornaments, and worshipped phallic emblems;

(3) The Asuras are spoken of in several passages of early Sanskrit literature as the "elder brothers" of the Devas (Deva-worshipping Aryans?), e. g. *Asura bhrātarojyesthā, Devāschāpi Jābīyasah*.—*Mahabharat Santi-praba* 1184.

This may possibly refer to the fact that the *Asuras* were an earlier branch of the same 'Caucasian' race to which the 'Aryans' belonged. And can we not suppose that this might refer to 'Indian Asuras' as well as to those living in what is now Persia or elsewhere? I have heard some aboriginals of the Munda race referring to the ancient Indian Asuras of tradition as a 'punḍi' (white or fair race).

(4) The Asuras probably spoke a language (akin to Vedic Sanskrit) which the early Aryans regarded as a corrupt dialect of their own spoken Sanskrit.

Thus, in the *Satupatha Brahmana*, III. 2, I. 22, 23 we read, "The Asuras, impaired in speech, and crying 'he alayah,' were defeated. Here they spoke this doubtful expression. This is incorrect language (or, one who speaks so is a Mlechha.) Therefore let no Brāhman speak incorrectly; for this is the language of the Asuras." (*Muir's Sanskrit Texts*, Part III. page 413.)

That the Muṇḍa languages not only possess a large element of Sanskritic words in their vocabularies, but further some at least of their grammatical forms would seem to be akin to those of some ancient dialect of Sanskrit.

Something like the so-called *infir* which is said to be a distinctive characteristic of the Muṇḍa languages appears to occur in Vedic Sanskrit, e. g. "Upa-twā-nesye".—*Vrihat-Aryanaska*.

Where the object *twā* (thee) is inserted between two parts of the verb 'upa-nesye' (shall invest with the sacred thread) much in the same way as in Muṇḍari 'omāmeing' (I shall give thee [mē]).

Though this is not infixing proper, for in the Archaic Sanskrit the *upasarga* is generally separated from the verb, it does not differ much from infixing. In India, the use of the dual form of nouns, pronouns, and verbs does not appear to occur except only in Sanskrit and the Munda languages.

(5) In the Rig-Veda and other Sanskrit literature, the distinctive religion of the ancient *Asura* religion is said to be the "worship of the phallus" (*Sisna-devah*). Almost the only trace of religious worship found in the ancient Asur sites of Chota Nagpur are phallic emblems made of terracotta and also of stone. Figures of bulls in stone and copper or brass have also been found in or near these sites. The bull was obviously regarded as another symbol of reproductive energy; and the Aryans probably adopted the Asura form of phallus worship, and later when Pauranic myths were invented and images of Mahadeo or Siva were made, the bull was transformed into the vehicle of Siva.

(6) In Bengal, it may be noted, the daily worship of small phallic clay figures of Siya is extensively practised by orthodox Hindus. And figures of the bull are represented in the wooden memorial posts raised by Bengali Hindus to the memory of the dead and the posts themselves are called *Vrishas* (bulls).

(7) Some Munda words occur in the Bengali vocabulary, and certain grammatical forms (such as the genitive suffix *ra*, ablative and locative suffix *te*, etc.) are similar in Bengali and in the Munda languages.

Another important point to be noted in this connection is that philologists have examined critically the vocabulary of Sanskrit and have found out that cognates could not be traced for all Sanskrit words in Avestan, Greek, Latin, Teutonic and other branches of the Indo-European (Aryan) family of speech, so they have classified Sanskrit words under two heads: (A) words of Indo-European (Aryan) origin and (B) words of Indian origin borrowed by the Aryans in India from the aborigines. And thus it may be argued that the so-called Sanskrit words in Munda are not real Sanskrit words, but, on

the other hand, really non-Aryan words which have found their way into Sanskrit. So to prove our theses, we ought to show that real "Indo-European" Sanskrit words are to be found in Muṇḍāri. But on account of want of books discussing that aspect of Sanskrit vocabulary, we have not been able to treat the subject in that light. But such words as Skr. *sāna*, *dāru*, etc. are of Indo-European origin and these occur in Muṇḍāri.

Appendix I.—Undoubted Sanskritic Words in Mundari.

MUNDARI.	SANSKRIT.
Ājom (to feed) (from <i>jom</i> , to eat) ...	Ajamān (from <i>Jam</i> , to eat)
Alom (don't) ...	Alam.
Ārārā (yoke) ...	Arara.
Bākā (stork) ...	Baka.
Bātikam (But, moreover) ...	Byatikram (exception).
Bāru (Kusum tree) ...	Bāri.
Bāpom (saddle) ...	Bipam.
Bālā, Balere (infant) ...	Bāla.
Bāklāā (bark of a tree) ...	Balkala (Beng., <i>Bākal</i>).
Bhārōm (load) ...	Bhāram.
Biṣi (Poison) ...	Biṣa.
Biṭi (forced labour) ...	Biṭi.
Būsū (straw) ...	Bāsa.
Bhuti (wages of labour) ...	Bhriti.
Bera (bracelet) ...	Balaya.
Bengar (brinjal) ...	Bangana (Prakrit, Baingana).
Chaṭa (to split) ...	Chaṭ.
Chandu (moon ; month) ...	Chandra (moon).
Cheta } (cunning) ...	Cheta.
Choudoi (a conveyance) ...	Chaturdola.

MUNDARI.	SANSKRIT.
Châtom (umbrella) ...	Chhatram.
Chipā (to squeeze, press) ...	Chipa.
Chñ (to kiss) ...	Chumba.
Dāṇḍā (stick) ...	Daṇḍa.
Dātrom (sickle) ...	Dātram.
Dāru (tree) ...	Dāru.
Dāṇṛē (sacrifice) ..	Dānam.
Dāli (Pulse) ...	Dāli.
Danṭi (handle) ...	Daṇḍa.
Dāsi (servant) ...	Dāsa (man-servant). Dāsi (female-servant.)
Dāmkoon (bullock) ...	Damyakam.
Disum (country) ...	Deśam.
Dāi } (Elder sister) ...	Dāyādi.
Didi }	
Gonṛā (cow) [in Gonṛā-oṛā (cow-shed)].	[Prakrit Gonā (cow)]
Dinaki (daily) ...	Dauika.
Diri (stone) ...	Drishat.
Duku (pain, sorrow) ...	Duhkha.
Dutām (go-between, match-maker) ...	Dutam (messenger).
Engā (mother)...	Angadā.
Gidi (vulture) ...	{ Gridhra. Gridhini.
Gohonḍo (crowd) ...	Goṣaṇḍa (flock).
Goṭha (herd of cattle) ...	Goṣṭha (Ben. Goṭh).
Hāku (fish) ...	Sakul, Sakali, Salki.
Hon (son) ...	Sūnū.

MUNDARI.	SANSKRIT.
Jālom (net, cobweb)	Jālam.
Jōm (to eat)	Jam.
Kāmi (work)	Karma.
Kāu (crow)	Kāka. (Hindi, Kāuā).
Kiring (to buy)	Kri (to buy); Krayam (buying).
Ā-Kiring (to sell)	Vi-Kri (to sel.).
Kā-asom (cotton)	Kārpāsam.
Kumkul (potter)	Kumbhakāra.
Kadal (plantain)	Kadalī.
Kāklā (talk)	Kākali (make noise).
Kartāl (cymbal)	Karaṭālam.
Kāhni (story)	Kāhini.
Laṇḍā (laugh ; to be merry)	Nanda.
Linijum (small spinning-wheel)	Ninijam.
Mārā (peacock)	Mayūra.
Madkam (<i>Bassia latifolia</i>)	Madhūkam.
Mānchi (chair)	Mancha.
Mād (bamboo)	Madana.
Māṇḍi (rice)	Maṇḍa.
Māṇḍā (platform, booth)	Maṇḍapa.
Mirdang (a small earthen drum)	Mridanga.
Miṇḍi (sheep)	Meṇḍha.
Merom (goat)	Medhram.
Nārī (pulse)	Nāḍi.
Paha (ploughshare)	Hala (Beng. Phal).
Pasrā (smithy)	Prasārā. Ga
Pāṭi (mat)	Paṭṭa (Beng. pati).
Pārkōm (bedstead)	Paryāmkam.

MUNDARI.			SANSKRIT.
Pārōm (across)	...	...	Pāram
Pāṭā (to throw down by inserting one's leg into another's).			Pāṭā (to throw down).
Piṇḍgi (verandah)	...	...	Piṇḍam.
Pilhi (splcen)	...	...	Plihā.
Purā (much)	...	...	Purna (full). [<i>Beng.</i> Purō, <i>Hindi</i> Purā].
Rahāri (<i>Cajanus Indicus</i>)	...	...	Arahara.
Rāṇḍi (widow)	...	...	Raṇḍā.
Rāsi (juice)	...	...	Rasam.
Ripi (debt)	...	...	Riṇam.
Sādom (horse)	...	...	Swādi (horseman).
Sākom (leaf)	...	...	Śākam.
Sar (arrow)	...	...	Sara.
Sanṛ-uri (bull)	...	...	Sanḍa-usra.
Sarjom (<i>Shorea robusta</i>)	...	...	Sarjam.
Sabating (to bear)	...	...	Saha (to bear) (<i>sahuti</i> , he bears).
Sāri (voice)	...	...	Swara.
Sāsān (burialplace)	...	...	Smaśāna.
Samundar (sea)	...	...	Samundra (H. Samundar).
Sagari (cart)	...	...	Sakaṭam.
Si (to plough)	...	...	Si.
Sinkiri (chain)	...	...	Srinkhalam.
Sisir-dā (dew)	...	...	Sisir-udaka.
Sinduri (vermilion)	...	...	Sindura.
Ṣukn (happiness)	...	...	Sukham.
Sukuri (pig)	...	...	Sukara.
Sutam (thread)	...	...	Sūtram.
Sunum (oil)	...	...	Sneham.

MUNDARI.			SANSKRIT.
Sunutu (younger brother) ...	...	...	Sunu.
Sen (to go) ...	...	...	San (<i>cf.</i> Sena, one who goes.)
—tan (to remain) ...	...	...	Sthā (to remain) Sthān (place.)
Tōyā (milk) ...	...	...	Tōya.
Tarauri (sword) ...	...	...	Tarabāri.
Tātā (grandfather) ...	...	...	Tāta.
Tulā (balance, to weigh) ...	...	...	Tula.
Tulam (cotton) ...	...	...	Tulām.
Taraṃ (post ; pillar) ...	...	...	Toraṃam.

Appendix II. — Probable Sanskrit Words in Mundari.

Aing, Ing (I) ...	...	...	Aham.
Achn' (to sneeze) ...	...	...	Harchhi.
Alāng (tongue)...	...	...	Ā-lehanam.
Achu (to command) ...	...	...	Ājñā.
Ang (morning) ...	...	...	Angsākam.
Apu (father) ...	...	...	Ābuka (Prakrit) [<i>cf.</i> Gāwari Hindi, abā.]
Asi (to ask) ...	...	...	Asanka.
Ambā-rōb (orphan) ...	...	...	Ambā-biyog (motherless.)
Bālu (māḍ) ...	...	...	Bātula.
Barki (wrapper) ...	...	...	Barakam.
Bigrāo-tan (spoilt) ...	...	...	Bikritam.
Bir (jungle) ...	...	...	Birina, bira (wasteland.)
Buti (navel) ...	...	...	Budhna.
Būl (to be intoxicated) ...	...	...	Bihwala.
Bulum (salt) ...	...	...	Bīram.
Botom (frighten) ...	...	...	Bhitam (frightened.)
Bu-n (bark of a dog) ...	...	...	Bukka.

MUNDABI.	SANSKRIT.
Bedā (cheat)	Bheda.
Boko (younger brother)	Arbhaka, Bhrātrika.
Bora (dirty water)	Bāri (water.)
Botom (frighten)	Bhitam (frightened.)
Dā (water)	Udaka.
Dere } (to have sexual intercourse)	Daḍaka, Daḍhā.
Depere }	{ Dal (to crush.)
Dāl (beat)	{ Dā (to cut.)
Dimi (lamp)	Dīp.
Eṛā (female)	Eḍā (female sheep.)
Idan (early)	Idanīm (now.)
Karbā (plough-handle)	Kerapāla.
Kāpi (axe)	Karapatra (saw.)
Karad (spindle)	Karaku-daṇḍa.
Kārē (oil-cake)	Kalka.
Kāntom (brim of a vessel)	Karpāntam.
Kātū (knife)	Karti.
Lai (stomach)	Nāḍi (cf. Bengali, Nāri-bhūri or Lāri-bhūri, entrails.)
Leye (tongue)	Lehanam.
Lījā (cloth)	Nichola.
Mered (iron)	Maṇḍūra.
Nidā (night)	(cf. Nidrā, sleep).
Orā (house)	Uṭajam, uṭa.
Pipi (open field)	Piṭha.
Perā (relative)	(Prakrit) Pariār (Sansk. Paribār, family)
Phiri (shield)	Phalaka.
Puṇḍi (white)	Pāṇḍu.

MUNDARI.			SANSKRIT.
Puṛu (leaf-cup)...	...	...	Pūṭa.
Rā (to cry, to weep)	...	...	Rū (to weep).
Ruā (fever, illness)	...	...	Roga (disease), Ruḡ.
Sāmṛom (gold)	...	...	Subarṇam.
Sasati (persecute)	...	...	Sāsati (persecutes, rules.)
Sāki (namesake)	...	...	Sakhā (friend).
Sārtim (true) ...	...	...	Satyam-
Setā (dog) ...	...	...	Swā.
Tāyom (then ; afterwards) ...	...	...	Tatparam.
Tāyom utarte (at last) ...	...	...	Tatparam uttarata.
Tetam (thirst, thirsty) ...	...	...	Taptam.
Ti (hand) ...	...	...	Dō.
Ti-talkā (palm of the hand)	...	...	Dō-talaka ; Taptam tala.
Tilmim (a kind of oil seed)...	...	...	Tailam (oil)
Tikā (thread) ...	...	...	Takku.
Uti (lip) ...	...	...	Oṣṭha.

Appendix III.—Words common in Mundari and Bengali.

Aṇḍā (to boil)...	...	...	Rāndhā (Sans. Randhanam).
Ājā (grandfather)	...	...	Ājā (Prakrit Ājja, Sans. Ār).
Āji (grandmother)	...	...	Āji (Prak. Ājjue, Sans. Āryā).
Āsu, Isu (very)	...	...	Atisaya.
Bāndā (embankment)	...	...	Bānd.
Bakāuri (to talk)	...	...	Bakā (H., Baknā).
Bāu (brother) ...	...	...	Bhāi (Sans. Bhrātā).
Bes (good, well)	...	...	Bes.
Bhādur (bat)...	...	...	Badur.
Dādā (elder brother)	...	...	Dādā.
Bārsi (fishing-hook)	...	...	Barsi (Sans. Baḍisa.)

MUNDARI.	BENGALI.
Bau-honjār (husband's elder brother) ...	Bhā-sur (-Bhai-sasur).
Bitār (inside)	Bhitar (Sans. Abhyantara).
Buini (younger sister)	Būn (Prakrit, Bahini) Bon (Sans. Bhagini)
Busu (rice-straw)	Bhusi (husk)
Chālā (sieve)	Chālan
Chauli (rice)	Chāul (Sans. <i>Tandul</i>)
Chepta (flat)	Chaptā
Chitiri (a kind of bird)	Titir
Dātā (tooth)	Dānt (Sans. <i>Danta</i>)
Dhelkā, Dhelā (clod of earth) ...	Dhelā
Dhinki (husking pedal)	Dhenki
Dura, Duri (dust)	Dhula, qhuli. (Sans. qhul)
Dubāo, Dubui (drown)	Dobā
Duān (raisin)	Dhuna (Sans. <i>Dhapam</i> , Hindi <i>Dhuan</i>)
Dular (caress)	Dhulāi (Hindi, Dulār)
Gāo (sore, wound)	Ghā
Goṭh (herd of cattle)	Goṭh (Sant. Goṣṭha)
Gungā (dumb)	Gongā
Hartim (defeat)	Hārā
Hē (yes)	Hā
Hē (vocative,—oh!)	Hē
Hobā (happen)	Haōā
Hisi (score, twenty)	Bis (Sans. Binśa)
Hoiō (air)	Hāwā
Ini (he, it)	Ini (he)
(Santalia, <i>uni, ona</i>)	Uni (he)

MUNDABI.	BENGALI.
Jatan (care)	Jatan (Sans. y: tna)
Kāp (sheath)	Khāp
Karad (spindle)	Karak-dāṇḍā
Kauri (cry, make a noise)	Kāora (as in <i>Kaora-Ghout</i> [Sans. Krandan])
Kānṭhār (jack fruit)	Kanṭhal
Kāmiṇi (maid-servant)	Kamini, Kamin (used in Manbhum and Bankura districts)
Kania (bride)	Kan'e (Sans. Kanyā)
Koisi (fog)	Kuāsā
Khali (mustard cake)	Khail
Khardu (slippers)	Kharām
Kotā (where)	Kothā
Lāgāo (apply)	Lagāno
Lāgōm (bridle)	Lāgām
Mesā (to add)	Mesā (Sans., Misraṇa)
Meṭā (to efface)	Meṭā
Mōtō (stout)	Moṭa
Odād (damp)	Odā
Okōtā (where)	Kothā
Oṛō (and)	Āro
Osār (breadth)	Osār
Pāgā (rope)	Pāgā
Paṭi (mat)	Paṭi (Sans. Paṭṭa)
Paiṇā (goad)	Pāinā
Pahal (ploughshare)	Phāl
Pharchi (neat, clean)	Pharsa (Sans. Pariskāram)
Pachtāo (to repent)	Pachtano (Sans. paschāttāpa)
Pinjra (cage)	Pinjrā (Sans. pinjara)

MUNDARI.	BENGALI.
Pukhāri (tank)...	Pukhur (Sans. Puskharini)
Piajo (onion) ...	Piaj
Rā (to call, calling) ...	Rā (sound)
Rasūri (garlic) ...	Rasūn
Rāngā (zinc) ...	Rāng
Rōā (plant) ...	Roā (Sans. Ropana)
Sai (hundred) ...	Sai (Sans. satam)
Fānju (put in) ...	Sājā
Sāman (front) ...	Sāmne (Sans. sanmukham)
Samrāo (to prepare) ...	Samlāo (Sans. Sambaranam)
Siri (ladder) ...	Sīri
Soben (all) ...	Sab (Sans. sarbam)
Sopāo (to make over) ...	Sapā (Sans. samārpaua)
Tākā (rupee) ...	Tākā (sans. Tankā)
Tipa (drop) ...	Tip
Tupuri (cap) ...	Tōpōr
Tōbē (then) ...	Tabē
Thauka (right)...	Thik (Sans. sthiraka)
Tunki (basket)...	Tuki
Thompā (bunch) ...	Thopā
Thor (beak) ...	Thonṭh

X.—Identification of a Nalanda Stone Image (with Plates).

By Vinayatosa Bhattacharyya, M.A., Research Scholar.

The mutilated stone image (Fig. 1) now under discussion was discovered during the excavations carried out at Nālanda under the supervision of Dr. D. B. Spooner, Deputy Director-General of Archæology in India. The stone fragment could not be identified and it was regarded so long as an interesting piece of archæological problem. It is the lower portion of a complete image and represents a goddess trampling upon the prostrate form of Gaṇeśa, accompanied by a miniature figure holding a broken thing, which appears at first sight to be a rod or the handle of some object. Various scholars suggested various theories by way of explanation. Some considered it to be a Jaina image, some Hindu, and others regarded it as a Buddhist image. That the figure trampling upon the Hindu Gaṇeśa, the bestower of perfection, cannot be Hindu seems to be certain. And because the image was discovered in a centre of Buddhist culture, it is reasonable to take the image as belonging to the Buddhist form of worship. Even if we take the figure to represent a Buddhist goddess, the hopelessly mutilated state of the image does not admit of a correct identification. In the Sādhanamālā, a Buddhist Tāntric text of rituals in Sanskrit, however, we find the description of a deity of the name of Aparājītā, who is described as trampling upon Gaṇeśa. The Dhyāna as contained in the Sādhanamālā is quoted as follows :—

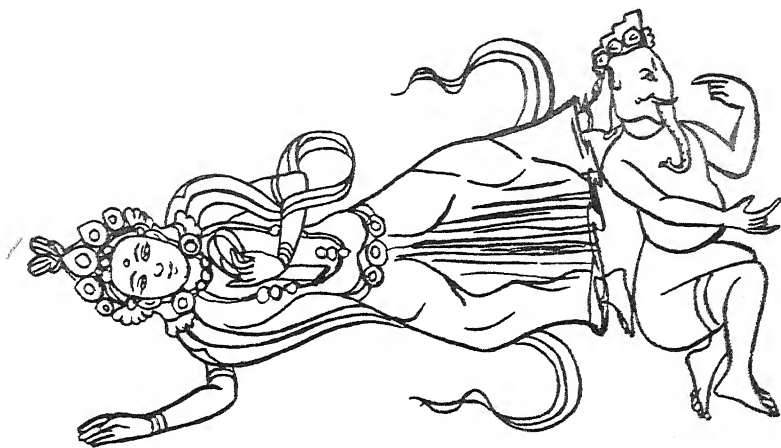
Aparājītā pītā dvibhujāikamukhī nānāratnopaśobhitā Gaṇapatisamākrāntā capeṭadānābhinayadakṣiṇakārā grhītapāsatarjanikahrdayasthitavāmabhujā, atibhayaṅkarakārālarandramukhī, aśeṣamāranirdalānī(am) Brahmādiduṣṭarandradevatāparikarocchritacehatrā ceti."

Fig. 1.

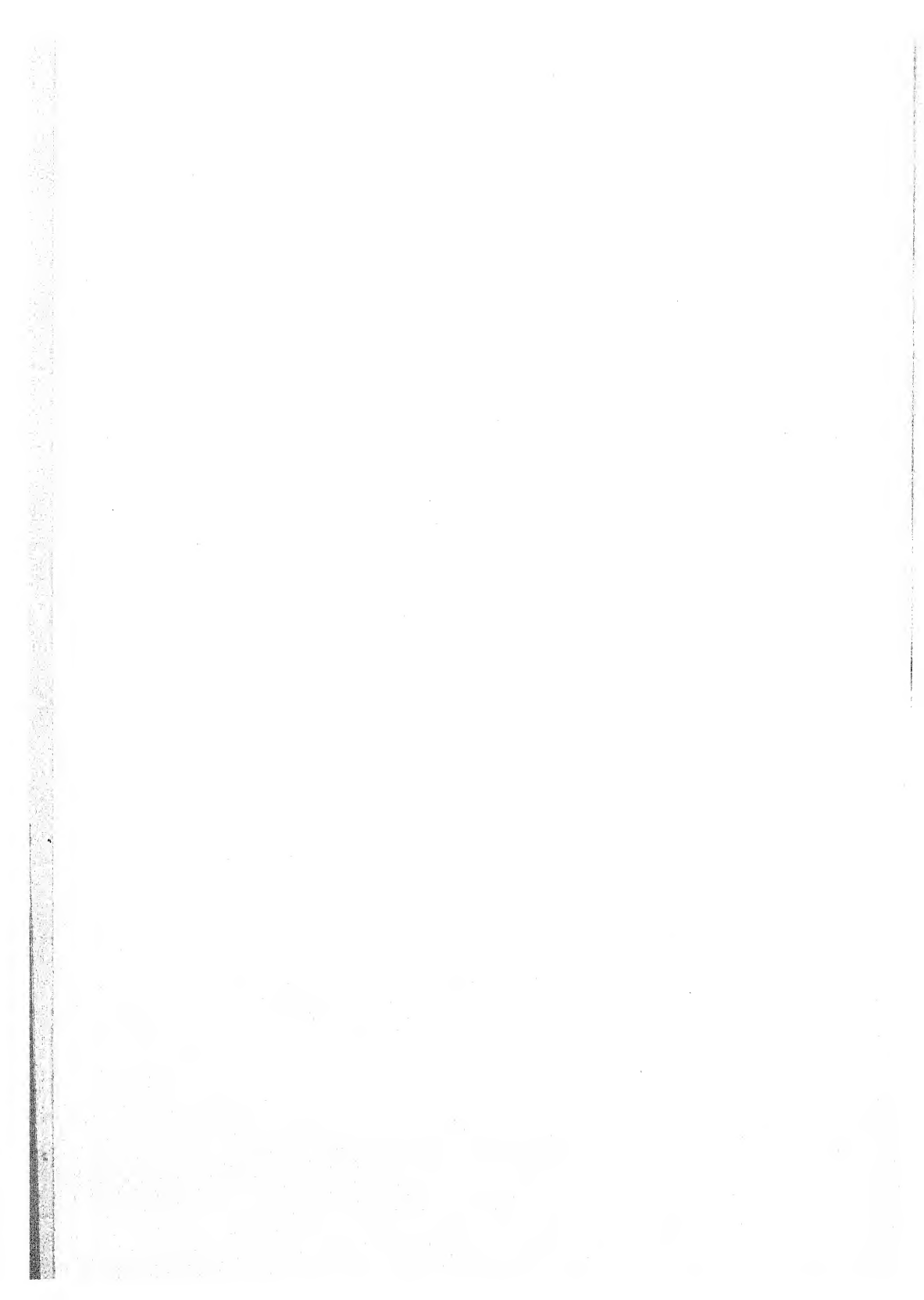


APARĀJITĀ.
(*Nalanda.*)

Fig. 2.



APARĀJITĀ.
(*Nepalese Drawing.*)



"Aparājītā is yellow in complexion, two-armed, one-faced, is decked in a variety of gems; she tramples upon Gaṇapati (or Gaṇeśa), exhibits the gesture of dealing a slap in the right hand, and carries the noose round the raised index finger of the left hand resting against the breast; her face is terrible, awe-inspiring and ferocious and she is the destroyer of all evil beings; her parasol is raised over her head by the wicked and ferocious gods, Brahmā and others".

In accordance with the Sādhana, we find in this mutilated image, the goddess trampling upon Gaṇeśa and a two-armed figure in the right holding the rod, which may be taken to represent the broken handle of the parasol. The parasol, according to the Sādhana, should be raised over the head of the principal goddess by the gods, Brahmā and others. Now, the gods belonging to the Brahmā group are four in number. They are, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva and Indra. Brahmā has four faces and both Śiva and Viṣṇu are four-armed. But as the parasol bearer in this case is neither four-faced nor four-armed, he seems to be Indra, who is credited with one face and two arms. That Indra was regarded, in the Buddhist Pantheon, as the professional parasol bearer is evidenced by a large number of Buddha images, where both Brahmā and Indra appear, the latter holding the parasol.

If, for argument's sake, the identification of the broken image with Aparājītā were correct, we should expect to find in the upper half (if the image were intact, of course,) the face of a goddess in an angry mood, displaying the Mudrā of dealing a slap in the right hand and the Tanjani with the noose in the left; and a parasol above her head in continuation of the broken handle, held by Indra. But alas! the image is hopelessly mutilated, and nothing can be asserted with a grain of emphasis.

Last year, when I went to Nepal for the purpose of studying Buddhist Iconography as current there, I asked a Vajracāryya, Paṇḍit V. Siddhiharṣa by name, to supply me with a drawing or painting or a stone image of Aparājītā. Neither a painting nor a stone image could be procured. But this devout Buddhist

priest after ransacking all the old albums he had in his possession, at last gave me a line drawing of Aparājītā (Fig. 2). In it though the parasol together with its bearer is absent, and the face of the goddess does not exhibit anger, still, the prostrate form of Gaṇeśa under her feet convinced me of the truth of the proposed identification of the Nalanda fragment with Aparājītā. Even then, there was some doubt as no complete image of the goddess was forthcoming.

Recently, however, I paid a visit to the Indian Museum with the determination to examine all the Buddhist images of the mediæval period preserved in it. After the galleries were finished, I was informed that a large number of images still exist in the Museum flanking the staircase leading to the office of the Archaeological Section. I was tempted to reach the staircase through the galleries in the ground floor, but was refused admission point blank by the guardian of the gate. Being undaunted, and not in the least disheartened, I took the lift and approached the staircase unobserved through the office. There, to my agreeable surprise, I discovered a complete stone image of Aparājītā (Fig. 3), which follows the Sādhana in all details. Mr. Dikṣhit, Superintendent of Archaeology, Eastern Circle, was interviewed at once. I showed the image to him and asked for a photograph. Mr. Dikṣhit very kindly took a personal interest in the matter and I could secure a photograph of the image with the paltry sum of eight annas. This photograph is reproduced herewith.

In this image, it may be observed, the principal figure not only tramples upon the prostrate form of Gaṇeśa, but also, in accordance with the Sādhana, shows the Mudrā of dealing a slap in the right hand, and the Tarjani with the noose against her breast in the left. Furthermore, Indra, standing on her right, raises the parasol complete with the rod and the circular canopy. This new discovery, however, left no room for doubting the identification of the Nalanda fragment proposed originally.

Fig. 3.



APARĀJITĀ.
(*Indian Museum.*)

This stone fragment illustrates graphically the *friendly* (?) attitude of the Buddhists towards the gods of the Hindu Pantheon. Gaṇeśa is uniformly designated with the epithet of *Bighna* or "Obstacle" by the Buddhists, who in order to display the superiority of their own gods over the gods of the alien faith, make a large number of them trample upon Gaṇeśa. The two Vikrampur images of Parnaśavari, the Indian Museum figures of Parnaśavari and Aparājita the Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Pariṣat bronze of Bighnāntaka, the Dacca Sāhitya Pariṣat stone image of Mahāpratisarā are instances in point.

Nay, the Buddhists went a step further. They made a large number of their gods and goddesses trample under their feet the four highest Hindu gods, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva and Indra, who were uniformly designated as the four *Māras* or "evil ones" by the Buddhists. Sometimes even their consorts, Brahmāni, Lakṣmī, Pārvatī and Śaci, are brought in and disgracefully represented. The descriptions of Vidyujjvalākaraḥ, Vajrajvalānālarka, Prasanna-Tārā are some of the many instances. In the Bodh-Gaya image of Trailokyavijaya, the god has been represented as treading upon the head of Śiva and the bosom of Gaurī, both lying prostrate in opposite directions. It is a matter of satisfaction, however, that the Hindus never disgraced any of the Buddhist gods, but on the contrary regarded Buddha as one of the ten Avatāras of Viṣṇu.

XI.—Chronology of the Early Ganga Kings of Kalinga.

By G. Ramadas, B.A.

A sufficiently large number of copper-plate grants of the early kings of the Ganga family of Kalinga have been discovered till now. In every one of these, the year of the charter is given in the "prosperous victorious era" (प्रवर्धमान बिजयराज्य संबत्सराः) which appears to be peculiar to this dynasty. When this era began is still to be settled, though several scholars had attempted to determine it.

Dr. Fleet amongst them worked at it with great zeal; and Dr. Hultzsch and others that edited the grants of some of these kings, avoided to make any suggestions for settling the epoch of the era, because Dr. Fleet had undertaken the work. Dr. Fleet, in every Kalinga grant he happened to edit, threw a suggestion based on paleography or identification of persons or both. But at last in his article on the Parlakimidi plates of Maharaja Indravarma,¹ he summed up all these and arranged a scheme which is quoted in full below :—

"As regards the era in which the dates of this inscription and of the two Chicacole grants is recorded, I can do little more than repeat what I have already said, viz. that it is evidently the Gāngiya era specifically mentioned under that name," but apparently only in connection with a conventional date—in a grant of the Maharaja Devendravarman and another of the Maharaja Satyavarman, both of which are dated in the fifty-first year of the era. I have also a grant of Devendravarman, which is dated genuinely in the two hundred and fifty-fourth year of the era. The epoch of the era still remains to be determined. But in publishing the Chicacole grants I wrote 'It is

¹ Indian Antiquary Vol. XVI. 1887.

possible that the Maharaja Indravarman of this grant (of the year 128) is identical with the Adhiraja Indra, who is mentioned in the Godavari grant of the Raja Prithivimūla as combining with other chiefs and overthrowing a certain Indra-Bhattāraka. This Indraka-Bhattāraka must be the Eastern Chālukyan of that name, the younger brother of Jayasimha I (śaka 549 to 579 or 582) and the father of Vishnuvardhana II. (śaka 579 to 586 or śaka 582-591). This is the period to which all the three grants issued in the name of Indravarman may be allotted on paleographical grounds—as far as such evidence can be applied. As I have previously intimated, the clue to the date may perhaps be found in the record in line ten of the grant of the year 128, of an eclipse of the moon on the full-moon day of the month of Margasira (November-December). The śaka years that I have quoted above represent A.D. 627 to 670. But owing to the possibility of the Indravarman who is connected with the history of Indra-Bhattāraka being the granter of the present charter of 91—not of the charters of 128 and 146—the later limit of śaka śamvat 591 as regards the second Indravarman, may have to be brought down fifty-five years later to śaka śamvat 646 or A.D. 724-25. Taking the extreme limits of A.D. 627 to 725 and allowing a margin of a few years on either side, the lunar eclipse mentioned in the grant of the year 128 may be any one of the following:—

					A.D.
30th November	...	...	...	...	624
20th November	...	...	...	...	625
9th December	...	...	...	...	626
1st December	...	...	...	...	643
19th November	...	...	...	...	644
10th November	...	...	...	...	653
1st December	...	...	...	...	662
10th November	...	...	...	...	672
22nd November	...	...	...	...	690
11th November	...	...	...	...	691
2nd December	...	...	...	...	708
22nd November	...	...	...	...	709
2nd December	...	...	...	...	719
3rd December	...	...	...	...	727
12th November	...	...	...	...	737

And coupled with the eclipse, the record in line 19 of the present grant, that in the 91st year of the era, the month Māgha included thirty solar days—which is not always the case—may very possibly enable us hereafter by means of detailed calculations to determine precisely which of the eclipses mentioned above is the one intended.”

Thus a period in which the beginning of the Kalinga era may possibly fall, is fixed; and from it are to be selected those years, the Margasira months of which had lunar eclipse. With the help of the other astronomical occurrences recorded in the grants, the first year of era has to be arrived at. The following are the recorded events other than (1) the lunar eclipse on the *purnamāsi* of *Mārgasira* mentioned in the charter dated on 15th Chaitra of the 128th year. This eclipse occurred in Margasira of 127th year. (2) 30th solar day in the month of *Māgha* of the 91st year; the date already noted by Dr. Fleet. Other astronomical data given by the Kalinga grants are:—

- (1) In the Kalinga grant of Devendravarma dated 251st year is recorded a solar eclipse.¹
- (2) The Alamanda Plates of Anantavarma records a solar eclipse in the 304th year.²
- (3) A solar eclipse in the 351st year is recorded in the Parlākimidi grant of Śātyavarma.³
- (4) The Chicacole plates of Devendravarma⁴ dated in the 183rd year carefully examined show that the 7th thithi of the bright half of the month of Māgha in the year 182 must have been Kshaya thithi.

This is not stated in the charter itself and therefore requires a little explanation. A grant of land is said to have been made on the 8th thithi of the bright half of Māgha, when the sun was in his northern progress (माघमास्युदगयने शुचाष्टम्यां) and the grant is dated 20 Śrāvana of 183rd year. The month

¹ Ind. Ant. Vol. XIII. p. 273.

² Ep. Ind. Vol. III. No. 3.

³ Ind. Ant. Vol. XIV. p. 11

⁴ Ep. Ind. Vol. III. No. 21.

of Māgha in which the gift was actually made, belonged to the 182nd year. The 7th thithi of the bright half of Māgha is the Ratha-saptami, sacred for bathing and for religious endowments. सूर्यग्रहण तुल्यात् शुक्लामाघसप्तमी¹. The 7th thithi of the bright fortnight of Māgha is equal to an eclipse of the sun. This is also called Viśōka-saptami and Śarkarā-phala-saptami.² The grant recorded in the Kalinga charter of Indravarma³ must also have been made on the Ratha-saptami day of the year 146, though the specification is only Māgha-saptami, without the mention of the bright fortnight. That a grant be made on the 8th thithi, as in the plates of Devēndravarma, the thithi next to the Rada-saptami, is unusual. Though this thithi is called Bhishmāshtami, no gifts are prescribed on that day. Therefore it suggests to me that the 7th thithi must have ended before sunrise. Such Ratha-saptami is said to be more sacred than the Saptami which continues even after sunrise

“पूर्वेहि षटिकादयं षष्ठी सप्तमी च परेद्युः :

क्षयवशादरुणोदयात्पूर्वं समाप्यते तत्परम् ॥”⁴

“The 6th thithi continues for two ghatikās after sunrise on the previous day; then the Saptami (begins and) ends, by being Kshaya, before dawn on the next day.” This Saptami is the holiest. Such must have been the gift recorded in this grant and therefore only it is said to have been made on the 8th thithi. This Kshaya Saptami may be taken as a correct astronomical test.

In all, there are now six astronomical facts recorded in the grants of the early Kalinga kings; with their help can be worked out the year when the era of these kings was started.

¹ Nirnayasinidhu.

² Matsya-purana.

³ Ind. Ant. Vol. XIII. pp. 122ff.

⁴ Nirnayasinidhu.

Detailed verification of the years suggested by Dr. Fleet to determine the beginning of the Kalinga Ganga era.

The years when there was a lunar eclipse in Margasira 624 625 626 643 644 653 662 672 690 691 708 709 719 727 737
(one of these was the 127th year).

Corresponding initial year of the era ... 497 498 499 516 517 526 535 545 563 564 581 592 600 610

251st year had a solar eclipse ... 749 *** 767 768 *** 786 796 814 815 *** 833 843 851 861

304th year from the initial year had a solar eclipse. *** 802 *** 820 821 *** *** 867 *** 914 *** 904 914

351st year ditto ... *** *** 867 *** *** 914 *** *** 951 961

21st year ditto had 30 solar days in Magha 516 + 91 or 607 is the 91st year. In this year the sun enters Makara on 20th December after sunset; and Kumbha on 19th January H. D. 608. There are 29 days alone.

563 + 91 or 654. In this year the sun enters Makara on 20th December after sunset and Kumbha after sunset on 19th January, so there are only 29 days.

600 + 91 or 691st year. The sun enters Makara before sunset on 21st December and Kumbha after sunset on 19th January, so there are only 29 days.

610 + 91 or 701st year. The sun enters Makara before sunrise on 21st December and Kumbha on the 19th January before sunset, so there are only 29 days.

Thus not even one year stands these tests.

These years *** had no solar eclipse.

The fifteen years above suggested by Dr. Fleet had to be verified with the data above given. On page 402 is shown how test after test was applied and how it is found out that not even one year stands all the tests. From this, it is seen that the period suggested is incorrect and the Indravarma of the grant dated in 128th year cannot belong to the period above suggested; nor can he be identified with Adhiraja Indra, mentioned in the Godavary grant of Raja Prithivimūla.

The scholars that have edited the Kalinga grants before, presumed that the Kalinga era was merely conventional and was not connected with any epoch-making event that might have happened in Kalinga in ancient days. It is this presumption that lead them to presume also that the characters of the grants they had edited, belonged to the seventh and latter centuries.

A careful study of the grants of these Ganga Kings shows that the name they had used for their era had some significance, which became involved in obscurity at this distance of time. The first document to mention the era (प्रवर्धमान विजयराज्य संवत्सराः) is the Urlam grant of Hastivarma.¹ This is also the first document to mention that the King was a devout worshipper of the Gokarna swami established on the summit of mount Mahendra. Chandavarma,² Umāvarma³ and Nandaprabhanjanavarma⁴ appear to have been Kings of Kalinga prior to Hastivarma. For, they were the Kings of Kalinga and they were the worshippers of the parents' feet.⁵ Chandavarma and Umāvarma had their seat of government at Singipure (Chicacole taluk, Ganjam District) and Nandaprabhanjanavarma changed it to Sarepally (Parlakimidi taluk). In the time of

¹ Madras Ep. Rep. 1920. App. A. No. 3.

² Ep. Ind. Vol IV. No. 16.

³ Ep. Ind. Vol XIII. No. 2.

⁴ Tamil and Sans. Ins. by Burgess, No. 16.

⁵ Chandavarma was 'Bappa-bhattāraka-pāda-bhaktah'; Umavarma was 'Bappa-pāda-bhaktah'; and Nandaprabhanjanavarma was Māta-pitr-pādānu dhyātah' which is also the title borne by Hastivarma and his successors. All mean the same thing.

Hastivarma and afterwards their capital is said to have been Kalinganagara.¹ All these facts put together show that these Kings, having first established at Singipure (Sinhapura) gradually tried by their prowess to get hold of Mahendra hill, the landmark ever spoken of in connection with Kalinga. Having obtained the possession of Mahendra hill, they began to extend their power southwards and northwards. All these points are fully discussed in my paper on "The Historical Geography of the Kalinga of the Gangas." From this it appears that the power and kingdom of the Gangas were prospering. Thus the epithet 'prosperous' (प्रवर्धमान) was significant. The epithet 'victorious' also must denote some victory on which the kingdom was founded.

The Kalinga ruled over by the Gangas was quite different from the Kalinga of the Asokan times.² The Kalinga of the Gangas being connected with the Mountain Mahendra was quite different from that subdued by the Great Mauryan Emperor, which was not mentioned to have included the mountain. But the chief town of the country is found named along with the mountain in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta. It is also stated in this prasasti that Swamidatta was the king of both Pishthapura and Kalinga.³ At the time when Samudragupta lead his armies against the countries on the east coast, Kalinga appears to have been under the sway of the king of Pishthapura, a foreigner. The Ragolu plates of Sakti-varma further corroborates this state of the country. The king though a scion of the Vāsistiputra family of the Māgadhi stock, called himself 'the lord of Kalinga' and had his capital at Pishthapura, the modern Pithapuram.⁵ In this document,

¹ The site of this Kalinga-nagara is discussed in my paper on "The Historical Geography of the Kalinga of the Ganga Kings" contributed to the quarterly journal of the Mythic Society, Bangalore.

² Samāpa or the Asokan Kalinga; Ind. Ant. April 1923.

³ Dr. Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions.

⁴ Ep. Ind. Vol. XII. No. 1.

⁵ There are other facts also to show that Sakti-varma was not of the family of the Gangas. He does not bear the title of Bappa-pāda-bhaktah, like Chanda-varma and Umāvarma; nor does he bear the title of Mata-pitr-pāda-anudhyātah. He has titles not found for any of the Kalinga kings. His capital town itself was beyond the limits of Kalinga.

Kalinga was treated as a district, i.e. a part of the whole region that was under the sway of Śaktivarma. By the close resemblance of the characters of this document to those of the Bruhatproshtha plates of Umāvarma, it may be safely assumed that the Saktivarma's document belonged to the period when Kalinga saw the Gupta invasion march through it. Perhaps this Saktivarma was an ancestor of Swamidatta of the Allahabad inscription.

The victory commemorated by the Kalinga era may be the one that released the country from the foreign rule of Pishtapura. That victory may be the victory of Samudragupta over the King Svāmidatta. Perhaps Samudragupta captured Kalinga and conferred it on one of the warriors that had been following him in the expedition; ¹ and having received it, might have founded the Ganga dynasty.

If this be certain, the year of the conquest of Kalinga must be within the period of Samudragupta's accession to the throne, i.e., A.D. 330 and his death, i.e. about A.D. 380,² i.e. between Śāka 251 and 301. Secondly, Kāmārṇava I, the founder of the later Ganga family, is said to have descended from the top of the Mahendra hill, and being accompanied by his four brothers, conquered one Balāditya and taken possession of the Kalinga countries. It is not at present possible to identify this

¹ The Allahabad Prasāsti says that Samudragupta was सर्वदृष्टिना पथराजग्रहणमोक्षानुग्रहजनितप्रतापः. This is translated as "whose (great good fortune was mixed with, so as to be increased by his) glory produced by the favour shown in capturing and then liberating many kings of the soth."

But it appears to mean ग्रहणमोक्षय capturing and liberating and अनुग्रह showing mercy, i.e. he liberated whom he had captured and to others he showed mercy. He might have got fame by capturing and then setting them free; by also showing mercy to others. Showing mercy might be in placing one of his faithful followers on the conquered countries.

² V. A. Smith: The Oxford History of India: p. 151. "The exact date of Samudragupta's death is not known, but he certainly lived to an advanced age, and when he passed away had enjoyed a reign of apparently uninterrupted prosperity for nearly half a century."

Balāditya. Since it is stated that Kāmārṇava had taken possession of the Kalinga countries, it must have been after the death of Mahārāja Satyavarmadeva that had issued the Chicacole plates dated in 351st year of the Ganga era. Taking 351st year to be the last year of Satyavarma's reign, Kāmārṇava I seems to have ascended the throne 351 years after the founding of the era. From the statements made with regard to the periods of rule of each king from Kāmārṇava I to Anantavarma Choda Ganga Deva, in the latter's Vizagapatam grant¹ dated in śaka 1040, it is seen that Kāmārṇava I came to the throne in śaka 651. So the earliest date that can be allotted to the founding of the era is śaka 300 or A.D. 378. This falls within śaka 251—301, the period we have arrived at above.

With the aid of Palæography, which is not a surer test though, we shall try to find out the period to which the initial year of the Kalinga era may be assigned.

I have compared, letter to letter :

- (1) The Chicacole plates of Devendravarma,² son of Gunārṇava, dated in 183rd year with the Ganeśaghad plates of Dhruvasena I³ of Samvat 207 (Gupta era)
- (2) The Siddhantam plates⁴ of Devendravarma, son of Gunārṇava, dated in 195th year with the Abhōṇa plates of Sankaragana (Kālāchuri) Samvat 347.
- (3) The Purle plates of Indravarma,⁵ son of Dānārṇava dated in 149th year with the Podāguda inscription⁶ of the son of king Bhavadatta the characters of which are said to very closely resemble those of the Mandasor inscription of the Gupta King Kumāragupta of the Malava year 493 (=A.D. 437-38).

In every case the characters of the Ganga plates are found to closely resemble those of the corresponding plates of known dates. Gupta Samvat 207 corresponds to A.D. 526-27. So the

¹ Ind. Ant. Vol. XVIII. June 1889.

² Ep Ind. Vol. III No. 21.

⁴ Ep. Ind. Vol. XIII. No. 19.

³ Ibid. No. 46.

⁵ Ep. Ind. Vol. IX. No. 45.

⁶ Madras Ep. Rep. 1921-22, Part II. p. 95.

Chicacole plates must belong to about this period. Since these plates belong to the 183rd year of the Kalinga era, the year 526—183 or A.D. 343 must approximately indicate the beginning of the era.

Kalachūri Samvat 347 corresponds to A.D. 595-6. The Siddhantam plates resembling these Abhōna plates must belong to the same time. Since these plates are dated in the 195th year, the beginning of the Kalinga era must have been about 595—195 or A.D. 400.

The Purle plates, resembling the Mandasor Inscription, belongs to about A.D. 437. So the era must have been somewhere near A.D. 437—149 or A.D. 388.

From these observations it is found the initial year of the Kalinga era lies in the period A.D. 331 to A.D. 400, i.e. from Śāka 253 to Śāka 322. This is the period we have arrived at by the other two means.

In this way also, we arrived at the same period as has been arrived at by the two other means above. The initial year of the Kalinga era appears to fall between A.D. 330 and A.D. 400. It cannot be earlier than A. D. 330 and later than A.D. 400.

Since the reign and exploits of Samudragupta belong to this period, it is probable that he might have wrested Kalinga from Svamidatta and made it independent under a Ganga prince, who, being grateful to the Gupta sovereign, or being glorious of having secured the independence of Kalinga might have started an era to commemorate it. It may also be probable that the founder of the Ganga dynasty in Kalinga might have taken advantage of the weakened state in which the country had been left and founded a Kingdom there, reckoning the years of his reign from the time of Samudragupta's Victory, perhaps to make others understand that he got authority under the credentials of the Gupta Sovereign. The era thus started must have been followed by his successors.

Samudragupta's conquest of the eastern countries did not pass away like a Simoon over a Persian desert sweeping everything

before it and leaving no sign behind. The Maharaja Mahasāmanta Mādhavarāya II¹ acknowledged the suzerainty of Śasanka and used the Gupta year. This Mādhavarāya II was a king of Kōngōda which is identified with Kong-u-t'o which was mentioned by Hieun-tsang to be to the north-west of Kalinga. When the Gupta era was followed in a kingdom lying to the north of Kalinga, what wonder is there if the benefits of the Gupta conquest were remembered in Kalinga.

The expression "Vijayarajya" in naming the Kalinga era is therefore, significant, but not conventional as many have thought it to be. It is shown above that the beginning of the era must be one of the years between A.D. 320 and A.D. 400 or Śaka 252 and 322.

The lunar eclipse mentioned in the plates dated in 128th year shall be the one that occurred in the Mārgasīra of the following śaka years,

398, 399, 416, 417, 418, 435, 436, 445.

These are the years corresponding to the 127th year of the Kalinga era. Therefore the epoch year shall be one of the following :—

Śaka 271, 272, 239, 290, 291, 308, 309, 318.

Taking these one after another, let us apply the tests of the solar eclipses.

I. 251st year is said to have had a solar eclipse. The corresponding śaka years are : Saka 522, 540, 541, 542, 559, 560, 569. Of these there was a solar eclipse in Chaitra of 522 ; in Vaiśāka and Mārgasīra months of 540 ; in the Chaitra month of 541 ; in the Āsvina of 542 ; in the Vaiśākha and Kārtika months of 559 ; in Vaiśākha of 560, and in Chaitra of 569. Eliminating the years when there was no solar eclipse, we get the following śaka years, one of which must have been the initial year of the Kalinga era : 271, 289, 290, 291, 308, 309, 318.

II. 304th year of the Kalinga era is said to have had a solar eclipse :

¹ Ep. Ind. Vol. VI. No. 14.

The corresponding śaka year shall be :—

Śaka 575, 593, 594, 622.

Of these there was a solar eclipse

in Ashādha and Pusha of 575

in Pausha month of 593

in Pausha month of 594

and in Adhika Āshādha of 622.

The corresponding initial year of the era shall be one of the following śaka 271, 289, 290, 318.

III. 351st year of the era in question shall be the following :
śaka 622, 641, 669.

Since these 351st year is said to have had a solar eclipse,
let us see which of the years had a solar eclipse.

In the Ādhika-Asādha month of 622 there was a solar eclipse

In the Adhika-Āshādha „ „ 641 „ „ „

In the Jyestha and

Margasira months of 669 „ „ „

The corresponding initial years in śaka era are the following :
271, 290, 318.

From these the initial year of the era has to be selected by applying the other astronomical tests.

IV. The month of Māgha is said to have had 30 solar days in the 91st year of the Kalinga era.

The 91st year from śaka 271 is śaka 362. In the Māgha of this year the sun entered Makara (Capricornis) at 28 gh. 22 v. gh. on 18th December, i.e. before sunset on that day; and the sun entered Kumbha (Aquarius) at 55 gh. 15 v. gh. on 16th January, i.e. after sunset. The solar month of Makara began on 18th December and ended on 16th January both days inclusive. There are in all 30 days in that solar month.

The 91st year from śaka 290 is śaka 381.

In this year the sun entered Makara at 23 gh. 21 v. gh. on 19th December as the sankrānti happened before sunset.

The 19th December of śaka 381 was the first day of the month of Makara. The sun entered Kumbha at 50 gh. 21 v. gh. on 17th January of the same śaka year; it was after sunset;

therefore 17th January was the last day of the Makara months. So the solar month extends from 19th December to 17th January both days inclusive. There were 30 days.

Similarly in the śaka year 409 which is the 91st year from 318 the sun enters Makara at 11 gh. 33 v. gh. on the 18th December and Kumbha at 38 gh. 24 v. gh. which is after sunset. In this year also there were 30 days in the solar month of Makara.

So by this we find that the 91st year from śaka, 271, 331 and 409 had 30 days in the solar months of Māgha or Makara.

Then we must apply the last test of the Kshaya 7th thithi in the bright half of Māgha of the year 182 of the Kalinga era.

Firstly.—The śaka year 271. The 182nd year from this is śaka 453. In the month of Māgha of this year, 6th thithi of the bright half ended at 0 gh. 36 v. gh. (Lanka time) on 31st December. Then the 7th thithi began and ended before sunrise on the 1st January. Therefore there was the 8th thithi at the time of sunrise on the 1st January and it continued into the whole of that day. Thus the 7th thithi of the bright fortnight of the month of Māgha in śaka year 453 was Kshaya.

Secondly.—The śaka year 290. The 182nd year from this is 472. In the bright half of Māgha of this year the 6th thithi of the bright half of Māgha ended at 27 gh. 40 v. gh. on 30th December. Then the 7th thithi began and ended at 25 gh. 12 v. gh. on 31st December, then the 8th thithi began at 34 gh. 12 v. gh. on 1st January. Thus the 7th thithi was not Kshaya in śaka 472. So the śaka 290 cannot be the beginning of the Kalinga era.

Thirdly.—The śaka year 318. The 182nd year from this is 500. In the bright fortnight of this year the 6th thithi ended at 19 gh. 12 v. gh. on 19th January; then the 7th thithi began and ended at 8 gh. 24 v. gh. on the 20th January; then the 8th thithi began and ended at 12 gh. 0 v. gh. on the 21st January. Thus the 7th thithi of the bright fortnight of Māgha was not Kshaya in the śaka year 500.

Therefore the śaka year 318 cannot be the 'starting point of the Kalinga era.

Thus it is seen that on the Purnamasi of the month of Margaśira of śaka Samvat 398, the 127th year of the era, there was a lunar eclipse; in śaka 522, the 271st year of the era there was a solar eclipse; in śaka 575, the 304th year of the era there was a solar eclipse; in śaka 622, the 351st year of the era there was a solar eclipse; there were 30 solar days in the month of Māgha of śaka 362, the 91st year of the era; and, lastly, the 7th thithi of the bright half of Magha was Kshaya in śaka 453, the 182nd year of the era. All these tests are satisfied by the śaka year 271 or A.D. 349. This was the year when the Kalinga era was initiated.

Vincent A. Smith says that Samudragupta's invasion must have ended by A.D. 350. "This wonderful campaign, which involved two or three thousand miles of marching through difficult country, must have occupied about two years at least, and its conclusion may be approximately in A.D. 350."¹ The year A.D. 349, which we have found out to be the beginning of the 'Victorious' Kalinga era, falls within the period of Samudragupta's conquering march; it appears that the Gupta conqueror subdued Kalinga in A.D. 349 and that the Ganga Kings started their era to commemorate the Victory of Samudragupta over Svāmīdatta; because this victory must have obtained the independence of Kalinga. So the expression 'Vijja-rājya' used for naming the years appears to signify the independence obtained by Kalinga by the victory of Samudragupta over the Svāmīdatta who was king of the kingdoms of Pishthapuraka and Mahendragiri Kouttūraka, at the time of the invasion.

Since the beginning of the Kalinga era is determined to be śaka 271 or A.D. 349-350, it is necessary to settle in what month the year began and in what fortnight the months began i.e. if the months were calculated from new moon to new moon or from full moon to full moon.

¹ Early History of India by V. A. Smith.

To determine, what month began the year of the Gangas we have no sufficient data. Since it is generally calculated from Chaitra lunar month, we may presume that the Kalinga Kings also began their year with this month. Nextly, to determine whether their months were *āmāntās* or *pūrnimāntas*, there are some grants of these kings that furnish us with data.

First of these is the Kalinga grant of Indravarma dated on the 10th of Māgha of 146th year. This is a document issued to ratify a gift made with libations of water on Magha-saptami. This is evidently the 7th thithi of the bright half of the lunar month of Māgha; for, this is what is called the Radhasaptami and it is a ceremonial day. So, 10th of Māgha, the date of the grant, must be the 10th day of bright half which immediately follows an *amāvāsya*. It is also customary to count 30 days from new moon to new moon. From this it appears that the Māgha month was *āmāntā*. The date of the grant in the Christian era is 10th January A.D. 496 and the date of the actual gift is 8th January on which day the saptami thithi began at 3 gh. before sunrise.

The next grant is the Sidhantam plates of Devendravarma, son of Guṇārṇava: this is a grant given on the 5th thithi of the dark fortnight of Srāvana of the 195th year, in favour of a gift made with libations of water on the Dakshināyana. The Kalinga year 195 is equal to śaka 466 or A.D. 514-5. In this year the sun entered Cancer (Dakshināyana) at 44 gh. 24 v. gh. on 20th June. Since the sankranti happened after sunset, the ceremonies connected with it were performed on the 20th alone, and it happened to be the full moon day of Āshādha. The date of the charter is clearly stated to be the 5th day of the dark half of Sravana which begins after the new moon of Āshādha. The month of srāvana is again *āmānta*. It is equal to 25th July A.D. 514.

Utlam grant of Hastivarma is the third set of plates to give us a clue to determine this: the actual gift was made on the 8th thithi of the dark fortnight of Kārtika which is also *Krishnāsthāmi*. If the month of Kartika were *pūrnimānta*,

the dark fortnight of Asvina (āmānta) would be the dark fortnight of Kārtika (pūrnimānta). Then the Krishna-ashthami would fall on the 8th thithi of the dark fortnight of Mārgasīra (pūrnimānta). But since it is stated clearly the Krishna-ashthami of Kārtika, the month must be āmānta. The date of the gift is 5th November A.D. 429. The date of the charter being 8th thithi of the dark fortnight of the month of Kārtika, it is equal to 5th November A.D. 429. Thus this Kārtika also is āmānta.

In this light, the dates given in figures in the following grants clearly show that they denote the number of days expired from the new moon day of the preceding month.

- (1) Parlakimidi plates of Indravarmā dated on the 30th day of Māgha of the 91st year. The 30th day is clearly amāvāsya, the last day of the lunar month of Mārgasīra.
- (2) Kalinga grant of Indravarmā dated on 15th Chaitra of the 128th year. This is clearly the purnamāsī, 15 days after the preceding new moon. The day when the gift was made is stated in words Mārgasīra purnamāsī.
- (3) Purle plates of Indravarmā, son of Dānārṇavā: the gift was made on Kartika purnamāsī (in words) and the grant to ratify the gift is dated on 20th Pushya (in figures) of 149th year. 20th Pushya (āmānta) is 5th thithi in the dark fortnight of Pushya.
- (4) Chicacole plates of Guṇārṇavā's son, Devendravarma; the gift was made on the 8th thithi of the bright half of Māgha during the sun's progress to the north and the charter is dated on 20th day of Śrāvana.

It may not be out of place here to reduce the dates of the Kalinga grants to the corresponding dates of the Christian era.

- (1) Comerte plates of Chandavarma dated on 5th thithi of the bright fortnight of Chaitra of the 6th year. The year may be taken to belong to the Ganga era. Then the date is equal to 23rd (Wednesday) February

A.D. 356 when the 5th thithi expires at 6gh. 36v.gh. (meantime).

- (2) Bruhatprōshtha plates of Umāvarma dated on 20th Mārgasira 30th year. If it be solar it is equal to 7th November A.D. 379. It is not possible to settle now whether it is solar or lunar. As we have already seen that the Gangas had āmānta lunar months the date of this charter cannot belong to the solar month. Then the date is equal to 31st October A.D. 379.
- (3) The Chicacole plates of Nandaprabhañjavarma : no date is given. But the King from his titles and the language of his grant may be assigned to the time after Umāvarma.
- (4) Urlam plates of Hastivarma dated on the 8th day of Kartika in 80th year of the victorious and prospering Ganga era. The gift was made on the 8th thithi of the dark fortnight of Kartika. It has already been shown to be equal to 6th October A.D. 429.
- (5) Aṭhyutāpuram plates of Indravarmā dated on the new moon of Chaitra of 87th year. But the gift was made with libations of water at उदगयन i.e. uttarāyana which is the day on which the sun entered the house of Makara. Because the date of the charter was in Chaitra of the 87th year, the gift must have been actually made on the Makara sankranti day of the 86th year. In this year, i.e. in śaka 357 or A.D. 435 the sun entered Makara at 10 gh. 48 v.gh on 19th December. The charter ratifying this gift was engraved on the new moon day of Chaitra āmānta i.e. on 3rd March A.D. 436.
- (6) Parlakimidi plates of Indravarmā, dated on the 30th day of Māgha of 91st year. Dr. Fleet thought this to be the solar date ; if so, we have already found it to be 18th January A.D. 441. As in other grants of the Kalinga grants and also as in the other grants

(No. 5) of this king the date refers to the 30th day of the lunar (āmānta) month of Māgha. So the date of the charter is 23rd January A.D. 441. This is thithi of the dark fortnight of Pushya (āmānta).

In the light of the dates of the above grants, the date of the Vizagapatam grant of Devendravarma son of Anantavarmā becomes clear. The grant is said to have been given on the 1st day of the first fortnight of Phalguna of the Ganga year 254, to ratify a gift made in connection with the ayana. It has been already shown that the Ganga months were āmāntas. So the month of Phalguna also was āmānta and the 1st day of the first fortnight of the Phalguna was the 1st day after the new moon of the month of Māgha. The date is equal to 7th February A.D. 604. The gift was actually made on the ayana which was clearly the Makara sankranti; for it is generally called ayana. (ककटे विंशतिः पूर्वे अयनेविंशतिः परे.) This happened at 42 gh. 36 v.gh. (after sunset) on 19th December A.D. 603. The ceremonies connected with it were performed on the 20th December.

Thus it is established, on the basis of the astronomical data furnished by the documents issued by the Ganga Kings of Kalinga, that the beginning of their era was reckoned from the śaka year 271 or A.D. 349-50. It is also found that their months were counted from the new moon to the new moon.

XII.—Boram Temple Inscription (with plate).

By Dr. R. C. Majumdar, Ph.D.

The subjoined inscription was found in a temple at Boram in the Manbhum District. Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, M.A., Bar-at-Law, sent me a copy of the inscription and I also received a photo and an eye-copy of the same from Dr. A. C. Mitra of Purulia. The inscription contains five lines of writing. The language is Sanskrit, but, in addition to many mistakes in spelling and grammar, it contains a strange peculiarity in substituting *a* for *va* in at least three instances. The alphabet is of the Proto-Bengali type and does not seem to be earlier than the thirteenth or fourteenth century A.D.

Text.¹

- L. 1. Śrī-Rudra-Śīsu juarājah.
- L. 2. Balī akshaa cha² tibhua.
- L. 3. na-adhipatī || Balī³
- L. 4. Akshaa cha singhāsana.
- L. 5. Chakravartih ||

Translation.

Mighty, undecaying, and lord of the three worlds (is) the Crown prince, the son of illustrious Rudra. Powerful and undecaying is also the king on the Lion-throne.

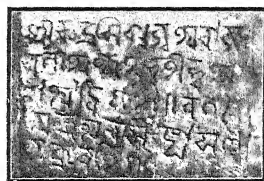
¹ Rendered in correct Sanskrit the text will read as follows :—

Śrī Rudra-Śīsu-Yuvarājo baly-akshayaś-cha tribhuvanādhipatīh || Baly-akṣayaś-cha Simhāsana-Chakravartīh ||.

² The two *cha*'s in lines 2 and 4 are unlike the '*cha*' in 'Chakravartih (l. 5) but I cannot propose any other reading. Similarly the two *va*'s in lines 2 and 3 are different.

³ The right vertical stroke of *la* is missing.

INSCRIPTION FOUND IN THE TEMPLES AT BORAM (MANBRUM).



J. B. O. R. S. 1923.

MISCELLANEOUS CONTRIBUTIONS.

I.—A Passage in Alberuni's India— A Nanda Era ?

By Dr. R. C. Majumdar, Ph.D., Professor, Dacca
University.

In Chapter XLIX. of Alberuni's India (translated by E. C. Sachau) we find the following passage :—

"Between Śrī Harsha and Vikramāditya there is an interval of 400 years, as I have been told by some of the inhabitants of that region" (Vol. II. page 5).

Later on Alberuni further says : "Now, the year 400 of Yazdajird, which we have chosen as a gauge, corresponds to the following years of the Indian eras :—

(1) To the year 1488 of the era of Śrī Harsha.

(2) To the year 1088 of the era of Vikramāditya "

(Vol. II. page 7.)

It is thus quite clear that Alberuni refers to an era, with an initial epoch somewhere about 458 B.C., which was associated with Harshavardhana. No such era is known to us, but it is difficult to believe that Alberuni drew upon his own imagination in this respect. In the middle of the fifth century B.C. the only important political power in Northern India was that of the Śisunāgas. If any era started from about this period, it must have very likely been started by a king of this dynasty. There is one king in this dynasty named Nandivardhana, who may be supposed to have belonged about this time and whose name Nandivardhana, strange enough, means the same thing as Harshavardhana. Is it likely that Nandivardhana founded an era which was later on confused with the era of Harshavardhana as both the names mean one and the same thing? It is noteworthy that Alberuni knew the true epoch of the Harsha era.

properly so called, for he refers to the Kashmirian calendar, according to which Śrīharsha was 664 years later than Vikramāditya (Vol. II. page 5).

The following passage in the Yedarāve inscription of the Chalukya king Vikramaditya VI seems to refer to an era established by the king Nanda. "Having said 'why should the glory of the Kings Vikramaditya and Nanda be a hindrance any longer? he, with a loudly uttered command, abolished that (era) which has the name of Śaka, and made that (era) which has the Chalukya counting.'"¹

Again, in the Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravela, reference is made to something having been done by the king 300 (or 113) years since the time of the Nanda kings. It is difficult to believe that people could recollect such long intervals of time since the reign of a particular king unless an era founded by him were in continuous use.

Now, if we look upon these 300 years as the years of an era started by Nandivardhana in 458 B.C. then the resulting date would be 158 B.C. Strange enough, this is again quite in keeping with the date of Khāravela which we otherwise know.

It is too early yet to pronounce any definite opinion regarding the correctness of the proposed interpretation. But it is sufficiently interesting to demand further investigation and this note is written with a view to induce other scholars to take up the subject.

¹ Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I, Part II, p. 447. Fleet adds the following note: "But an ink-impression is still required, to give the exact reading of the original, and to shew whether it really contains any reference to King Nanda, and, presumably, to an era established by him." I have not been able to ascertain whether the inscription has since been edited with a facsimile.

II.—Neolithic Writings in India : A rejoinder.

By R. C. Majumdar, Dacca.

In his Note on the discovery of Neolithic writings in India, published in the last number of this Journal (June 1923, page 262ff) Mr. Rama Prasad Chanda has observed that I have supported the theory of neolithic writings propounded by Professor D. R. Bhandarkar. He has made a partial quotation from a paper of mine to the effect that the "facts and figures" produced by Professor Bhandarkar "go a great way towards demolishing Bühler's theory" of the Semitic origin of the Brāhmī script and then examined the following "facts and figures"—

- (1) Marks on pre-historic pottery dug out in Hyderabad Cairn.
- (2) A neolith on which Professor Bhandarkar read the letters *ma, a, ta*.
- (3) Another neolith on which Dr. Bhandarkar perceived four letters connected by one continuous line, but which Mr. Chanda correctly reads as five Arabic numerals.

Now the way in which Mr. Chanda has introduced my name would appear to indicate that I have supported all these facts in detail. Mr. Chanda knows very well, however, that that is far from being the case. The remarks of mine quoted by Mr. Chanda occurred in a review which I wrote in 1919 on Mr. Chanda's *Memoirs on the "Dates of the Votive Inscriptions on the Stupas at Sanchi"* (*Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India* No. 1). Mr. Chanda argued in this paper that "if *ka* is derived from Aramaic *ke* turned upside down and from right to left, the first type of *ka* should be considered as more Archaic." On this and similar arguments I remarked: "But speculations on this line are of no use as the derivation of the Brāhmī alphabet from the

Phœnician, far less the derivation of the individual Brāhmī characters from those of the Phœnician alphabet, as suggested by Bühler are far from being conclusively proved as yet. Quite recently the theory has been vigorously challenged by Professor D. R. Bhandarkar and he has produced facts and figures which go a great way towards demolishing it."

In the above extract I referred to Professor Bhandarkar's lecture in the Calcutta University on the antiquity of Indian alphabet for none of his writings on the subject had yet been published. Professor Bhandarkar supported his arguments there by citing references to writing in early Indian, including Vedic, literature, and the other points noted above, though I do not recollect whether he mentioned the second neolith at that time.

That the second neolith contains Arabic numerals nobody will probably doubt now. But that fact *alone* proves nothing — neither that Professor Bhandarkar's contention about the high antiquity of Indian writing at once falls to the ground nor that Bühler's theory of the Semitic origin of Indian alphabet is at once established. I therefore still remain unrepentant and believe that Bühler's theory is yet far from being a settled fact. It may be observed that Mr. Chanda has not seriously challenged the points (1) and (2) noted above. He has observed in the first case, that the practice of erecting megalithic monuments still exists and in the second case he has admitted that "the only decipherable letter is reversed *ta*" though he thinks that the so-called letters look more like scratches.

I may further note that Mr. Chanda did not altogether discount the idea of a pre-historic origin of Brāhmī alphabet even as late as February 1922, as the following extracts from the proceedings of the Archæological section at the Second Oriental Conference will show :—

"Mr. Chanda pointed out that on the artifacts of the Azilian period there occur alphabetic forms which resemble some of the Brāhmī signs." (p. LXXXVI)

NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

Proceedings of a Meeting of the Council of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society held at the Society's Office on the 12th August 1923.

PRESENT :

The Hon'ble Justice Sir B. K. Mullick (in the chair)

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal.

Dr. Harichand Shastri.

Mr. W. V. Duke.

Mr. D. N. Sen.

Mr. E. A. Horne.

1. The proceedings of the last meeting of the Council, held on the 2nd June 1923, were read and confirmed.

2. The following new members were elected :—

Moreswar Balwant Garde, Esq., B.A. (Superintendent of Archæology, Gwalior State).

Muhammad Hamid Kuraishi, Esq., B.A. (Assistant Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Central Circle).

Rai Bahadur Chuni Lal Ray, B.A.

3. Read the proceedings of the meeting of the Library Committee, held on the 15th June 1923.

Resolved (i) that the draft rules for the Library, as modified, be approved and adopted ;

(ii) that a temporary library assistant be appointed for two months on a pay of Rs. 50 a month ;

(iii) that the Honorary Librarian be appointed convener of the Library Committee.

4. Considered and adopted the Society's budget for 1923-24, as framed by the Honorary Treasurer.

5. Resolved that an account be opened with the Imperial Bank of India, Patna Branch, in the name of the Honorary Treasurer, Bihar and Orissa Research Society, and that the funds of the Society be transferred thereto from the Honorary Treasurer's private account.

Resolved further that the question of placing part of the Society's current balance on fixed deposit does not arise.

6. Considered certain payments due to the Patna Law Press for printing.

- (i) Resolved that the bill for printing the March 1922 issue of the Journal (Rs. 283-8) be paid in full ;
- (ii) that Rs. 100 be paid for composing 48 pages of matter for the June 1922 issue, which it was afterwards decided to print elsewhere.

7. Read and recorded letters from Sir Edward Gait and Mr. Walsh, who represented the Society at the recent centenary celebrations of the Royal Asiatic Society.

Resolved that the Secretary write to Mr. Walsh asking him for a copy of the paper which he read on that occasion, if possible for publication in the Society's Journal.

8. Resolved that an honorarium of Rs. 16 per issue be paid to Mr. Duff of the Government Press for work done in connection with the Journal outside his official duties and out of office hours, including the preparation of list of officers, etc., of the Society, table of contents and index. (See item 2 of the Proceedings of the last meeting of the Council.)

9. Considered certain matters relating to the Society's Journal.

- Resolved (i) that advertisements be not accepted for publication ;
- (ii) that a list of new accessions to the Library be published regularly ;
 - (iii) that books presented to the Society for review be sent to the Editor to arrange for having them reviewed in the Journal.

10. Resolved that the authorities concerned be asked to supply the following in exchange for the Society's publications :—

- (i) Journal of the Society of Oriental Research.
- (ii) Journal Asiatique.
- (iii) Z.D.M.G. (Leipzig).
- (iv) Bulletin d'Extrême Orient.
- (v) Publications of the Musée Guimet.

Resolved also that the Secretary write to Dr. Spooner asking that the Society may be placed on the distribution list for reports of all circles of the Archæological Survey.

11. Resolved that quarterly meetings of the Society be held for the reading of papers and discussions thereon. (See rule 34 of the Society's rules.)

E. HORNE,
Honorary General Secretary.

**Proceedings of a Meeting of the Council
of the Bihar and Orissa Research
Society held at the Society's Office
on the 25th November 1923.**

PRESENT.

The Hon'ble Mr. H. McPherson, c.s.i., Vice-President
(in the chair).

The Hon'ble Justice Sir B. K. Mullick.

Mr. G. E. Fawcus.

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal.

Mr. D. N. Sen.

Professor J. N. Sarkar.

Professor S. N. Majumdar Shastri.

Mr. W. V. Duke.

Mr. E. Horne.

1. Confirmed the proceedings of the last meeting of the Council held on the 12th August 1923.

2. The following new members were elected :—

R. Sathianathaier, Esq., M.A., L.T. (St. Joseph's College, Trichinopoly).

Benoyatosh Bhattacharyya, Esq., M.A. (University of Dacca).

R. P. Chandra, Esq., B.A. (Superintendent, Archæological Section, Indian Museum, Calcutta).

Rev. Perry Park (Y.M.C.A., Patna).

3. Considered letter No. 2437-E., dated the 13th August 1923, from the Ministry of Education on the subject of the purchase of old Sanskrit manuscripts:

Resolved that the letter be recorded.

Resolved further (1) that before the grant in question can profitably be utilised for the purchase of old Sanskrit manuscripts,

it will be needed to finance the publication of the results of the cataloguing work already done, which will otherwise be valueless ; (2) that Mr. Jayaswal and Dr. Banerji be asked to take the work of publication in hand ; and (3) that further researches on the part of the Society's Pandit in Tirhut be stopped within the next three months, and his services utilised in connection with the preparation of a printed catalogue.

4. Considered a letter, dated the 23rd November 1923, from Dr. A. P. Banerji Shastri regarding the purchase for the Society of an old Sanskrit manuscript entitled "Chhandovichiti."

Resolved that this be purchased (at a cost of Rs. 35) out of the Library grant ; and that the offer made by Dr. Banerji to edit the same, with notes and introduction and an English translation, be accepted.

5. Considered and adopted the budget estimate of the Society for 1924-25.

6. Considered a letter, dated the 17th September 1923, from the Society's clerk asking that he may be confirmed in his post.

Resolved that he be confirmed, with effect from the date of his first appointment.

7. Resolved that a bicycle be purchased for the Society's office.

8. Read and recorded a letter from Mr. J. A. Page, dated the 18th August 1923.

9. Read and recorded a letter from Lieutenant-Colonel Sir David Prain, dated the 28th July 1923.

10. Considered a letter from Rai Bahadur S. C. Ray, dated the 14th August 1923, asking for the use of the blocks and permission to reproduce certain plates published in the Society's Journal:

Resolved that this be granted.

11. Considered a letter from Mr. G. H. Walsh, dated the 20th September 1923, asking for permission to reproduce certain plates published in the Society's Journal.

Resolved that the permission be granted.

12. Considered a letter, dated the 21st November 1923, from Professor J. N. Samaddar, asking for the use of the blocks and permission to reproduce certain plates published in the Society's Journal.

Resolved that this be granted, subject to the concurrence of the author whose article the plates were used to illustrate and on payment by Professor Samaddar of a royalty equal to 5 per cent. of the cost of the blocks.

13. Considered a letter, dated the 15th September 1923, from the Superintendent of Archæology, Jammu and Kashmir, proposing an exchange of publications with the Society.

Resolved that the proposal be accepted.

14. Considered a letter, dated the 24th October 1923, from the Director of the French School of the Far East, Hanoi, proposing an exchange of publications with the Society, beginning with the year 1920.

Resolved that the proposal be accepted.

15. Resolved that Dr. Sten Konow, an Honorary Member of the Society, be supplied with a complete set of the Society's Journal free of cost.

16. Considered a letter, dated the 28th August 1923, from the Honorary Secretary, the Peace Memorial Association, Anantpur, asking that his Association may be supplied with the Society's publications free of cost.

Resolved that his request cannot be complied with.

17. Resolved that a quarterly meeting of the Society be held in December 1923, at which Principal D. N. Sen will read a paper on "Nirvana," and another in March 1924, at which Professor J. N. Sarkar will read a paper on "Shivaji."

Resolved further that, if convenient to the President, the Annual General Meeting of the Society be held in March 1924.

18. Considered the question of reproducing, for publication in the Society's Journal, a map showing the residences, etc., along the river bank at Patna in the year 1812.

Resolved that the map be reproduced, provided that the cost does not exceed Rs. 450.

E. HORNE,
Honorary General Secretary.

**Proceedings of a Quarterly Meeting of
the Bihar and Orissa Research
Society held at Patna College on
the 16th December 1923.**

1. The Hon'ble Justice Sir B. K. Mullick presided ; and some 35 members and visitors were present.

2. The following were elected members of the Society :—

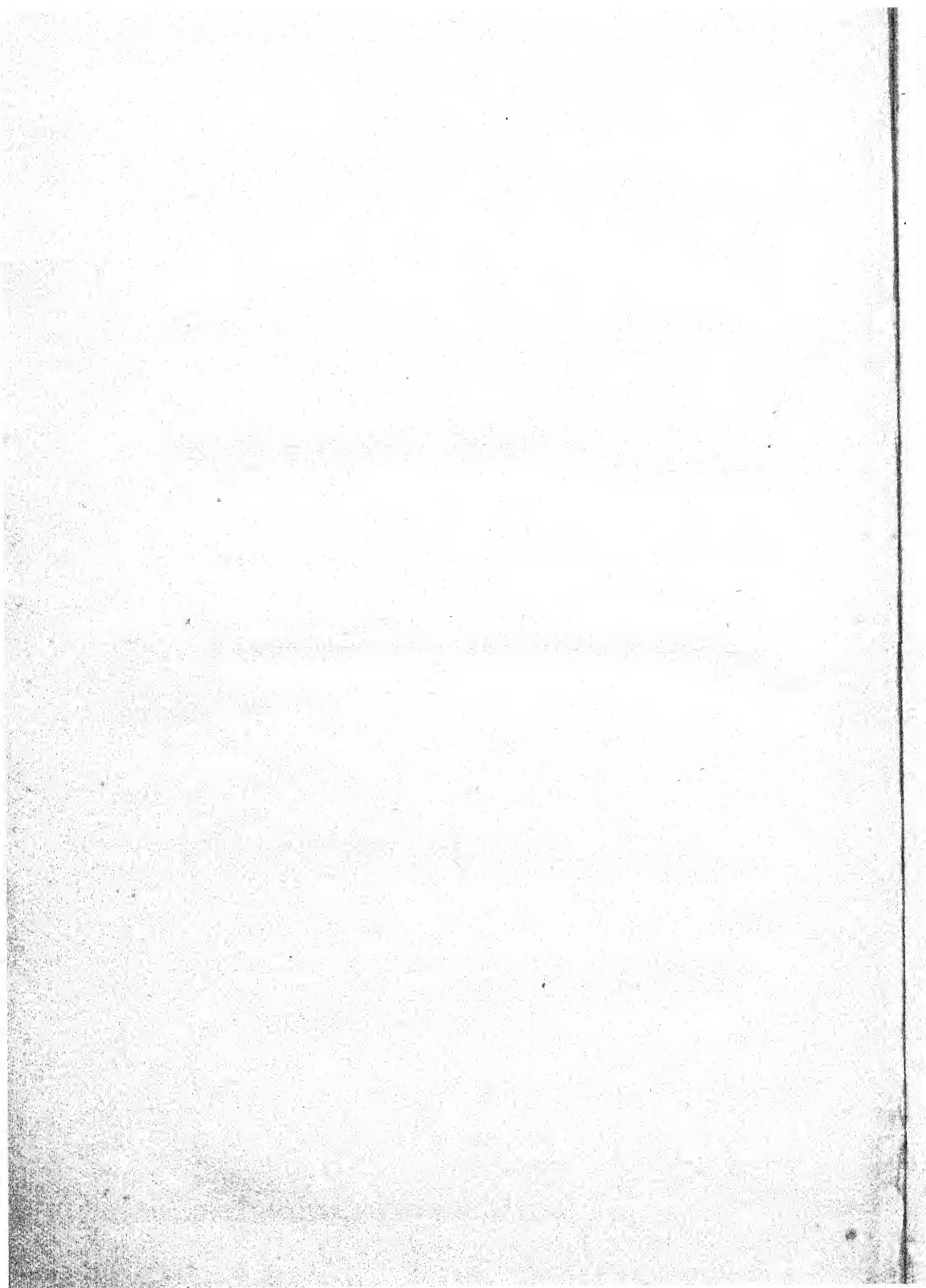
Onkar Mal Jalan, Esq.

Bhagvati Kumar Sinha, Esq.

3. Principal D. N. Sen read a paper on "Nirvan" and Professor R. Sarma, Dr. A. P. Banerji Sastri and Mr. K. P. Jayaswal took part in the discussion which followed.

E. A. HORNE,

Honorary General Secretary.



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